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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—*St. VINCENT OF LERINS, Commonit., c. 6.*

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CHURCH AND STATE IN EARLY MARYLAND.¹

The history of the human race is the history of emigration, or rather of development through emigration. The act of men, families, tribes, nations, leaving their birthplace to seek a new home, is a prominent fact in history and a factor in civilization. Primarily emigration is the necessary result of the increase of population, and consequently of crowding in the cradle; but secondarily it may be due to other causes than the law of increase and the danger of famine; and among these the most usual and potent are domestic broils and persecution, civil and religious. Let the separation of Abraham and Lot in the plains of Bethel stand as an instance of the former, and of the latter the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt. Whatever be the causes and whatever place we may assign to the causes, it is always some want of body or of soul that puts into men's hands the pilgrim's staff. Out of such want were born the Europe and the America of our day. The statement is readily verified as to the civilized nations of this continent. As to the nations of Europe, the tracing of their ancestry to an original home in Central Asia, where dwelt the Aryans, is one

¹Discourse delivered before the Pilgrim Society of Maryland, at Baltimore, March 25, 1896.

of the most brilliant scientific achievements of our time. Philology, with the aid of history, has been able to send its rays through the thick layers of language, legislation, religion, national and social customs; has been able to reveal to our astonished eyes the skeleton tribe that was father to us all, and to mark in the course of centuries the various migrations by which Europeans came to be where they are and what they are. In a word, emigration is the birth and expansion of nations; they begin, live, and spread by swarming.

Having stated this primary fact of history I would call attention to a remarkable feature that follows it. After a transplanted race has grown to greatness in the new home, it reverts with reverent and tender memory to the fact of its migration, and invests the departure, the wandering, and the arrival of its pilgrim ancestors with the prestige of civil and religious honors. Pilgrim's Day, as a cherished tradition, shines in its calendar. Two instances will suffice for my present purpose. The passage of the Hebrew people out of the land of bondage was immortalized for them and kept sacred by the solemnity of the Passover, which we find described in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of Exodus. The other instance, less known, is the ceremony kept in Rome, the *Ver Sacrum*, the Holy Spring, because it took place, on grave occasions of peril to the state, in the month of March. A study of this strange festival, as made lately by Von Ihering, proves that it was nothing else than a commemoration of the exodus of the earliest ancestors of the Italian peoples from the original home of their and our ancestors, the Aryans, in Central Asia. I give but two instances, but if one should delve into folk-lore and the traditional customs, civil and religious, of any race, one might find my assertion realized, might find much that is connected with the race's earliest migration, though the consciousness of the connection may be lost by the race. At any rate, with us, the fact of our migration is too recent to have passed into the shadow of time, the dimness of folk-

lore and the cloudiness of myth. We know our beginnings, we are conscious of the meaning and import of Pilgrim's Day. In celebrating it we do but yield to a tendency natural to man and as old as man. In celebrating it we celebrate our passage from the land of bondage into the land of promise.

I say "bondage," for the reason of the migration of our ancestors to these shores was not so much the want of room and livelihood as the want of freedom in their European homes. The beginning of the seventeenth century was a period of persecution, religious and political, or rather political because religious, throughout all Europe, in France, Germany, Holland and Spain, as well as in England. I do but state the fact. I do not stay to philosophize, distinguish, justify or blame. I believe explanations can be made and a certain justification may be found for the persecutions in the temper of the age, the circumstances of the time, the consciousness that nations had of their duty to resist religious novelties and tenets which revolutionized the political order they had lived under in the past or wished to live under in the future. The duty of the impartial historian is to be objective, and therefore to put himself in the times he describes and judge them by their, not our, standards. I say, then, the age was one of oppression. Huguenots, Puritans, Protestants of every sort were considered as foes to the country not less than to religion in Catholic lands, just as Catholics were considered to be foes to country no less than to religion in Protestant lands. Nor was this all. Puritans, like Catholics, found no comfort in England, and in other countries the sects that did not agree with the ruler's or the majority's religious views had no security and peace. The fundamental maxim of the times was *Cujus regio illius et religio*, what the government believes that too you must believe. In Germany Luther quarrelled and fought with Munzer, in England Episcopalians harried Non-Conformists, in Switzerland Calvin burned Servetus, and the dissensions of the early

Reformers descended in a multiplied and embittered form to the generations that followed.

Is it any wonder that the Huguenots of France, the Puritans and Catholics of England, irritated by mutual oppression at home, sought an escape and a refuge elsewhere? Is it any wonder that eyes and hearts were strained and hands stretched out to that new world which had been unveiled to Europe a century and a half before, to that virgin land which was sterilized of all the political germs struggling for mastery in the old world, to the shores three thousand miles away where might be planted the seed of a mighty people, where might be born a new order of relations between Church and State,—*novus saeculorum nascitur ordo*,—where Pilgrims, amid the untouched grandeur of nature, might worship God in peace according to their conscience? Thus it came to pass that almost simultaneously colonies, Protestant and Catholic, were planted on the shores of North America. I say simultaneously, for Virginia, Plymouth, New Netherlands, Delaware and Maryland were founded within a quarter of a century, 1606-1635.

All those colonies have contributed to, and therefore have an equal share of glory in, the upbuilding of our present political status; but all have not contributed to, and therefore have not an equal share of glory in, the upbuilding of our present religious status, and by "religious status" I mean the relation of Church and State, liberty and equality in religion. All those colonies, Maryland excepted, were politically sectarian and denominational; they established some one Christian church and proscribed all other Christian churches. What they came to seek they found, freedom for their religion; but what they found they kept for themselves, refusing the boon to those who were not of them. Baptists and Quakers and Episcopalians and Catholics had no security and rights of worship in Puritan New England, Puritans and Catholics none in Episcopalian Virginia; but all, Episcopalians, Puritans, Quakers, Baptists, had security and rights in

Catholic Maryland. Maryland, "the land of the Sanctuary," was broadly and universally Christian,—not, like its founders, denominationally Catholic. To the Catholic Pilgrims of Maryland belongs the glory of possessing that thing which is the chiefest boast of our Republic, freedom and equality of religion before the law. That glorious feature is in the Constitution framed and adopted by the Thirteen Colonies that had become the United States. Twelve of those States could not have given it to the Federal Government, since they never had it. Whence did it come? The true account, I believe, is that the necessities of the case suggested and imposed it; but I believe, too, that the memory of early Maryland's legislation and practise was an inspiration and an influence to the framers of our Constitution. Maryland that was born in civil and religious liberty had the spirit of it to give. It would be an interesting point to discover how far the colony of Maryland and its Catholic inhabitants led by Baltimore's first Bishop, John Carroll, concurred in bringing about this memorable result. At any rate here is a strange phenomenon for the political philosopher to study: the thirteen colonies were born of the divisions of Christianity, the United States were born of the sinking of those divisions in equality before the law.

That your Pilgrim Fathers had a vision of the happy condition under which we live and laid the foundations of it in their practice and legislation is evident from the history of their planting. On the 25th of March, Feast of the Annunciation, 1634, the Ark and the Dove, names of special meaning and happy omen, bearing two Jesuit fathers, twenty gentlemen, and between two and three hundred laboring men, mostly Catholics, sailed up the Chesapeake and anchored at the mouth of the Potomac, in view of an island they named St. Clement's, of which to-day but a mere sandbank remains. Here they landed, Mass was celebrated, and a cross was planted to indicate that the new-comers were Christians and meant to make Christian the land they were taking possession of. The

founder of this colony was George Calvert, clerk of the Privy Council in 1617, and one of the secretaries of state to the king in 1618, which position he resigned in 1623, when he renounced the Church of England to become a Catholic. The man who in that age could take such a step must have been honest, sincere and courageous, and deserves from posterity that his motives be respected and admired; for the step meant for him political exile, subjection to the penal laws of the realm, possible forfeit of fortune and risk of life. However, so useful to the government had Calvert been that James I. tried to induce him to remain in office. Calvert knew too well the dangers to which the change of religion would expose him, especially in the service of the state. Gently but firmly he resisted the personal kindness of the king, who, failing to induce the convert to continue as secretary of state, retained him nevertheless in the Privy Council, and raised him to the Irish Peerage as Lord Baltimore of the barony of Baltimore, County Longford, Ireland.

Maryland was not his first venture in American colonization. Before his conversion he was a member of the Virginia company that founded Jamestown, and at the time he was thinking of making a change of religion he solicited and received from the crown a patent to colonize the southeastern peninsula of New Foundland. Avalon is what he called it, in commemoration of the place where, according to tradition, Christianity was first preached in England. Various causes—above all, the inhospitable climate—induced him to abandon it; and, taking as many colonists as would follow him, he sailed for the milder regions of Virginia. He was not welcomed, though he should have been, since he was a member of the company which held the charter of that colony. But he was a Catholic, and that was reason enough to keep him out, if possible. Possible it was made by tendering to him two oaths—the oath of allegiance, which he did not refuse, and the oath of supremacy, which, as a Catholic, he could not and would not take, for it was the acknowl-

edgment of the king or queen of England as the supreme authority in the sphere of religion and conscience. Thus repelled from the shores of America, Calvert returned to England, and received from King Charles the unsettled region north of the Potomac, which the king named in honor of the queen, *Terra Mariæ*, Maryland. Before the formal document of the grant had passed the great seal the first Lord Baltimore died, July 13, 1632; and so it came that it was to his heir, Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, the grant was issued.

It was a remarkable, a singular, document—an innovation on the former plans of English colonization in America. The first plan, that of Raleigh, Gibbert, and Lane, had some likeness to the Spanish system, and consisted in planting colonies in the midst of a conquered people, for the purpose, mainly, of working the gold mines and pearl fisheries that might be discovered. As the regions thus occupied contained neither gold nor pearls, the result was failure more or less disastrous, though some knowledge of the country was gained, and the way was prepared for more rational schemes. The second stage was that of chartered companies which planted agricultural and commercial colonies, and managed them on the joint-stock principle. This system, however, had some radical faults. The colonies thus established were administered for the benefit of the companies, rather than of the colonies; most of the stock was held by persons whose interest in the colony was limited to the receipt of dividends; the administration was divided between the councils of the company and the assemblies of the colonies. Such was the early condition of the Massachusetts and Virginia plantings. The third plan, within which come Maryland and Pennsylvania, was that of proprietary government. An individual received a grant of land, and at the same time was invested with the necessary legislative and executive powers to administer his colony as a viceroy, under the sovereignty of the crown. Baltimore was made the absolute lord within his boundaries; could

erect towns, cities, and ports; make war or peace; call the whole fighting population to arms; declare martial law; levy tolls and duties; grant lands to whom he would; establish courts of justice; appoint magistrates; make and execute the laws; erect manors, and give them the right of rendering justice; and found churches and chapels, and dispose of benefices. In a word, he had royal rights.

In the presence of such a charter two questions naturally present themselves. First, under such absolute authority put in the hands of one man how fared it with civil liberty; second, under such absolute authority confided to a Catholic viceroy and exercised on Catholic subjects, how fared it with religious liberty? The answers to these two questions give us the measure of the character of Calvert and his colonists, and constitute the unapproachable glory of the Maryland Pilgrim Fathers. The answers briefly are these: The colonists asserted at once and gained speedily, and maintained steadily until they became a Royal Province, their civil independence, in the face of the Lord Proprietary, who willingly yielded his absolutism and shared his governing powers with the colonists, allowing them to initiate and enact legislation, retaining for himself only so much control as our Constitution grants to our Chief Executive, namely, the right of veto. Within four years from the landing the principle of free self-government was peaceably and firmly established in Maryland. Thus is answered the first question; you will find the details in the valuable works of Scharf and McMahon. The answer to the second question is this: The Proprietary and the colonists practised religious liberty from the very start and enacted it into law in 1649, fifteen years after the foundation of the colony.

This is a fact which to-day needs no proof. I am bold enough to say that no serious historian or writer on the American Constitution denies the fact. It may be interpreted, it is not controverted. Various motives may be assigned for the fact, but the fact itself is admitted. And

as to motives, I will say this: if the Maryland Fathers have expressly declared in the enactment any motives, we are bound to accept them as part of the deed. Any other motives than those declared by them, if they declared any, are but guesses, conjectures, the subjective spinning and weaving of commentators and psychologists. We must admit that Lord Baltimore and his colonists, if they undertook at all to legislate on religion, could not have established the Catholic Church. But he was not compelled to enact any legislation on the point; he might have left it in silence and abeyance; he might as Lord Proprietary, have restricted immigration as he pleased; he might have refused lands, and therefore admittance, to any but Catholics, imitating in that respect the example of the other colonies; and thus he might have kept the colony exclusively Catholic without a word in the statute-book. He did not do so. He threw open the doors to all Christians and assured to them by legislation liberty of worship. A few Protestants had come out with the first Catholic colonists; very soon, thanks to the colony's liberal policy, they increased in numbers so as to equal almost the Catholics. Then it was that Lord Baltimore named a Protestant governor and caused to be established by act of the legislature that religious freedom and equality that he and his father had advocated and practised from the beginning not only in Maryland but in the earlier colony of New Foundland. The oath of office required in the beginning of the colony from the governor ran thus: "I do further swear that I will not by myself or any other person, directly or indirectly, trouble, molest, or discountenance any person whatsoever professing to believe in Jesus Christ, and in particular no Roman Catholics, for or in respect of religion, nor his nor her free exercise thereof within the said province. . . . Nor will I make any difference of persons in conferring offices, rewards, or favors for or in respect to their said religion, but merely as I shall find them faithful and well-deserving." If religious equality

had not been embodied in a legislative enactment before 1649, fifteen years after the founding of the colony, it was because the enactment was not needed. The practice of the Proprietary, the governor, and the inhabitants, while Catholics were in the majority, was always against persecution and in favor of equal liberty for all Christians. When Lord Baltimore foresaw that in the near future Protestantism might predominate numerically in his colony as a result of the liberal policy he had pursued so far, he resolved to make Protestantism continue his policy and to bind it forever to that policy by fixing in a legislative enactment the toleration he had practiced and enforced. The later history of Maryland proves that he had set up a feeble barrier against the violence of religious fanaticism; not many years passed before the Protestants became a majority, and reversed the glorious practice and legislation of the Pilgrim Fathers; then Maryland became as intolerant and persecuting as any of her sister colonies until the blood spilled in the war of Independence purified the land and brought back an era of religious, as well as civil, liberty. Since that time attempts have been made to undo that just and glorious result; fed by prejudice and fanaticism they hung for a while in our fair sky like black clouds full of threat; but the spirit of our Constitution and the sense of fair play in the American people have prevailed. Thus came and went Know-Nothingism, thus comes and will go Apaisism. There should be no fear, no panic; we have in the Constitution a shield against all such dangers; we have in the Maryland Pilgrim Fathers an argument that is irresistible. That argument is resumed in two statements: From the beginning the government of Maryland was the government of the people, by the people, for the people; from the beginning Maryland was the home of religious liberty and equality for all Christians.

This surely is glory enough, and here I might rest; but there is another honor that falls to the credit of Maryland, and I beg leave to present it briefly to your con-

sideration. England was not the first to bring Catholicity to these shores in the Ark and Dove. Long before the Maryland Pilgrims planted the cross on St. Clement's Island the Catholic Church had made conquests in the north, the south and the west. The conquerors came from France and Spain; their outposts touched the English colonies on the Kennebec and the Hudson on the north, on the Ohio in the west, on the St. John's River in the south. Spain had a vast empire here, stretching from the sunny shores of Florida to the sunny shores of California. France had a vast empire here, containing the wide valleys of the St. Lawrence, the great lakes, and the Mississippi. Wherever were established the military or trading stations of these two great Catholic nations, there also were to be found their missionary stations. In the course of time Spain and France lost their American possessions to England, and later to the United States, and with their military went also their ecclesiastical establishments. I mean the French and Spanish missionaries either disappeared or those that remained, remained not as French and Spanish, but as American missionaries. This change was effected by the action of the Holy See attaching the French and Spanish missions to the centre which it had set up in the English Catholic colony of Maryland, Baltimore, the mother of all our churches, mother either by giving them life or adopting them into the American Catholic family. I wish this fact to stand out in your minds, that as in the course of time the English colonies absorbed the French and Spanish possessions that had existed in the present territory of the United States, so also the early Church of Maryland has become the centre and the primate not only of the churches that have grown out of her, but also of the churches that have followed in the wake of the French and Spanish missions.

Such is the fact. I seek a reason for it. I believe that God by permitting the vicissitudes of human affairs turns them to a divine purpose, and that the purpose is the

glory of Christ and His Church. Suppose that France and Spain had kept their American dominions which we have inherited, and that in them the Church were as prosperous, nay, more prosperous perhaps, than it is now on our soil, to whom, to what would history attribute that prosperity?

No doubt the Christian historian would answer, to the truth and grace of God, of which the Church is the bearer; but I much fear the non-Catholic historian, and with him the world-at-large, would answer, to the civil powers that brought with them to this new world the Church and placed her ministers wherever were planted the flags of France and Spain. I do not mean to say that such aid and support from the civil powers are unworthy of them or of the Church. To them it is a glory and a duty; to her it is an homage and a right. But there is a nobler birth, a nobler expansion than this. Conquest without allies is greater glory. Was not the Church divinest when leaning on no human arm, when by her own innate power and beauty she drew to herself the Roman world and its barbarian invaders? Does it not seem as if Providence had designed to renew in this land the miracle of the early centuries of Christianity? May we not say that it was perhaps for this purpose that France and Spain were not permitted to keep the larger part of the territory of the United States? Out of the Maryland mustard seed of Catholicity has grown the great American Church, assimilating and organizing, as they came to her, the vast accretions of Catholic emigrants from Ireland, France, Germany, Italy. God forbid that I should ignore the noble services Europe rendered the Church of America, the heroic missionaries France and Germany and Ireland sent to work in this new field of the Lord. I do not belittle individuals when I assert that the Church of the United States owes its wonderful development and progress not to the protection of Catholic civil powers, but to her own innate divine strength. We were born and grew, not out of the union of Church and State, but purely and

exclusively out of the life-giving truth and grace of God Himself.

The ideas I have submitted in these pages are resumed in two statements and facts: Maryland has given a home to our national government, Maryland is the central home of our Catholic life; Washington, the capital of the country, Baltimore, the primatial see of the land, are two facts that give the truth and the philosophy of our history.

THOMAS O'GORMAN.

REALISTIC PHILOSOPHY: ITS STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS.

Seekers after truth are architects and builders. Their work is, for the greater part, constructive, their material, fragmentary ideas which intellect has gathered piecemeal from the things of sense. Philosophic systems are not wont to rise, as if by magic, at the touch of wand or talisman. They are the fruit of years of thinking, the careful piecing together into one consistent whole of many divided considerations. Truth, viewed subjectively, is nought else than a product of our own making, the direct result of our own judgments, which declare the conformity of mind with external things. To bring about such conformity clear perspective is needed. The world of objects lying round about us, forming no part of ourselves, realities outside our being, are the measure and gauge of this subjective truth. Things in their innermost selves are but embodied imitations of the Supreme Architect's ideas, and constitute for us a sort of natural cryptogram, to which our ideas must accurately be fitted if we are to read aright the Maker's thoughts embosomed in the universal framework men call Nature. Focussed properly, so as to allow every stray beam of reality to stream upon it whole and entire, our intellect by its active power makes such conformation possible, becomes actually likened to the things it understands, and mirrors them as they are in nature. It represents in itself a perfect counterpart, which we in common parlance are wont to call an idea. Ideas are, therefore, the raw material upon which intellect must ever work ; on these, as upon so many groundstones, is it forced to build. If adjustment be not proper to a nicety, if qualities in an object be overlooked or unduly accentuated, a distorted image is the result, which, for very

lack of correspondence with outer things, must needs upset all after-calculations, should we be minded to take it as a starting point. Nature must be imitated closely, unless from fancy we would chisel out hippogriffs and centaurs. Were we to attempt to imprison the beauties of the human form in a block of marble, adding what it has not, or passing over what it actually has, the monstrosity of our work when done would, like another Frankenstein, taunt us with its unreality.

This rigid law of proportional adjustment, which constitutes the harmony of worlds visible and unseen, running, as it does, through every shred of truth the human intellect masters, applies as rigorously to our judgments as to our ideas. Without proper adjusting of part to part, without rigidity of proportion and fitness, the combined whole we might thus make of parts unfitted for the purpose would be unsymmetric and untrue, an eyesore, and not a thing of beauty. To judge arbitrarily of one idea as indenturing with another, to connect in our mind what we outwardly see and feel is disparate, to mentally identify what reality discloses as wholly separate, to attempt the making of a harmonious whole out of parts discordant, is to contribute generously to the formation of mental cloudland; but certainly not to shed even a stray beam of light on the reality we call truth. Unless it so falls out that we would fain be adepts in the art of losing our way methodically, we are shut to the sane conclusion of probing every idea and judgment to the very bottom in the light of the above rigorous law of conformity, whose interests are truth and whose aim the betterment of human knowledge.

In the philosophic questions of the day, uppermost among which is that of Epistemology, the above-instanced law of accurate conformity cannot fail to play its customary part. The neglect of its application at any stage of our reasoning must show itself in some extravagance, in some result which misfits reality and thus arouses in us a desire to indulge a little in the whim of looking back-

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wards, in order to discover just where and when the continuity was broken and a misstep made. Paintings please much more after retouching, and a long series of mathematical reasonings which give rise to strange results quickens one with a desire to review the whole process, if for no other motive than the solace of a double surety.

Epistemology has for its especial field the unearthing of the relations between the inner world of mind and the outer one of reality. It aims at discovering the precise grounds which warrant us in the belief that a real world exists and can be known by us as a thing apart, a reality outside our being. In Spencer's mind it is an inquiry into the knowableness of the absolute, an inquiry into the validity and value of our belief in the externality of things.

Nor is it so slender a question as at first sight it might appear. The office of knowledge is to disclose the nature of the beings with which we come in contact, to acquaint us with what lies without. As things other than ourselves are, however, numerically and existentially distinct from us in our capacity as knowers, we cannot attempt the impossible feat of stepping out of ourselves and into things, nor can they in turn find other entrance into the conscious world of our inner selves than the inlet of the senses. All other avenues are barred. As a consequence, the impressions and images of sense are our only warrant for belief in reality. Knowledge itself considered psychologically is but a sum of "presentations" in consciousness. Physiologically it has for its immediate conditions certain processes of the sense organs which minimize reality in endeavoring to represent it, and thus distort it out of shape and proportion during its passage into the conscious subject. It would seem, therefore, that there can be no immediate intercourse between mind and object. Belief in the existence of an outer world becomes in such a view an elaborate tissue of delusions. What lies without is the absolute, the great unknowable; what lies within is a mere kaleidoscopic change of fleeting

fancies and impressions, at best but meagre substitutes for what in our enchantment we are led to look upon as really and independently existing.

To the solution of this question great minds have devoted themselves—some to rise from its study overbalanced by doubt, others to cut their way to the light by dint of hard reasoning; and others, again, like Spencer, half-heartedly content with a compromise which hangs fire between extremes. The dominant views to-day are polar in their opposition and mark sharp lines of contrast between the two prevailing schools. In the first group of Realists stand those who try to weave reality out of purely subjective impressions. Over against them are the holders of immediate knowledge of the real, who admit the objective and subjective element as, at least, confusedly together in every percept to be afterwards set apart by a mental sifting process. The former are mediate realists, recognizing no direct or intuitional perception of reality, and insisting that reality is never presented to us except through the representative agency of ideas or subjective impressions. The two great exponents of this school are Mill and Spencer—Mill holding hard by the ideas of Locke, that reality is a delusion explainable by his ingenious theory of muscular sensations; and Spencer admitting the existence of reality simply as an hypothesis necessary to account for the ideas of which we have immediate perception, but denying that such existence is knowable in itself. Mill is thus a mediate realist, while Spencer stands sponsor for an hypothetical realism. With regard to the second section of dominant view-holders outlined above, Hamilton, McCosh, Porter, Mivart, and Martineau, in some respects also Wundt, are earnest in the contention that every percept contains a subjective and an objective element within it; and, furthermore, that in some acts the soul is made immediately and intuitively cognizant of a reality that is not itself. We have purposely omitted the pure idealists, to whom outer reality is but a fleeting fancy.

With the detailed exposition of these views we have not to deal. A portrayal of the arguments upon which each position rests would far transcend the limits of a single article, in addition to being beside our purpose. Rather would we confine our considerations to the two points of view set over against each other in contrast. Our criticism bears more on the plan of campaign itself than on any detail of execution, on the ultimate philosophic significance rather than on any individual points which serve to make up the lines of argument.

Ever since Descartes brusquely laid down the dividing lines between spirit and matter, and assumed the impossibility of immediate intercourse between each, by his dictum that we can know only our own thoughts and nothing more, the pace was set for his followers, and the vexatious question of the bridge between the real and ideal forced itself on the consideration of thinkers. Once admitted that soul was, as it were, a thing apart, that it perceived nothing but its own ideas, the conclusion sprang spontaneous that we never reached reality in itself, that we had a knowledge of things only through images and impressions, we were conscious of objects only as so many subjective modifications of our thinking selves.

Right here is the source of the modern difficulty. Here, for the first time, was continuity broken by an assumption which did not square with fact, by an initial idea which ran counter to the law of proportional adjustment instanced at the outset of this article. From a starting point thus warped out of its natural and true condition, small wonder that eventually we have a problem on our hands which frets our mind with the very difficulty of its solution. Had perfect correspondence to fact been looked into at the beginning, the futile attempts to unravel reality out of mind, the objective out of the subjective, would never have been so much as entertained.

Soul and body, as we know them, though distinct and singular substances, are not separated realities. On the contrary, they make up one immediate reality which we

call the *ego*, the human person. Person is neither soul nor body separately, but both united. The characteristic element of personality is absolute incommunicability. Yet neither soul nor body viewed separately may be said to be thus incommunicable. Nay, the very opposite is shown in the fact of their mutual communication and interdependence. Whence it is that the *ego* can have no other meaning than soul and body substantially united and forming this middle or additional reality to which we commonly allude as person, our compound self.

Thus the usage of some who would give to the soul a separated character which it has not in the body quickened and rendered operative through its agency, is without justification in point of fact. Consciousness yields up to us out of its depths two differing forms of energy—unmechanical operations of soul and the mechanical operations of sense. The same person it is who puzzles over a problem of mathematics to-day and indulges in out-door exercise to-morrow. If there were no permanent unchanging conscious unit, we could never be satisfied as to our own identity, the man who thought at one moment could not be sure he was the same one who afterward went afield. We must take man as he is, a being made up of soul and body, gifted with sensuous as well as intellectual faculties, and not argue concerning him as though his mind stood out of all relations to the corporeal frame. A separatist view such as this falls wide of reality, and simply speculates as to what the nature of perception might be under certain given conditions.

With our minds properly focussed to see man as he is in point of fact, we should hold fast and keep clear the meaning of our terms. "Ego and non-ego," it must be borne in mind, are synonymous with the English "self and not-self." Not so, however, the familiar expressions, "mental and external," "the mental and the extra-mental world," which we happen across so frequently in philosophic readings. We must not confound these latter as identical in meaning with self and not-self, else we shall

find ourselves in a maze of our own weaving. When I use the word "mental," I mean exclusively what pertains to mind, to the unextended conscious subject, the psychic substance considered apart from my body and excluding body as evidently outside the range of its significancy. The phrase, "external world," it must be noted, signifies all material reality, both my own body and the universe of things of which it makes a part. So far, therefore, from being interchangeable with the terms "self and not-self," "mind or mental," is narrower in meaning than "self," while "external" or "extra-mental" is wider than "not-self." Is not my "body" as irrevocably outside of "mind" as a star in the firmament? If so, "mind" must exclude and "external" include it in signification. While, therefore, "self" means my whole person and "not-self" means all reality that lies without my soul and body, "mind" is limited to what is purely psychical and a part of "self," and "external" includes one more object than the term "not-self," viz., my own organic body. The fact that these varying terms have not been diligently kept distinct in the minds of writers and thinkers, has led to gross confusion and complicated an already knotty problem.

With a proper idea of man as he actually is in his relation to the acquisition of knowledge, with the meaning of the terms we must needs use in this philosophic discussion carefully sifted and accurately defined, the question arises whether or not the unextended mind can have an immediate, or, as Hamilton puts it, "a presentative apprehension" of reality in any form. Does mind know only its subjective states? Most modern speculators are inclined to assume that this is the sum and limit of the mind's knowledge. Their efforts are, therefore, directed, either to show how an external world can be built up out of pure subjective impressions, or to reject the reality of such a world and account for the universal delusion prevalent amongst men concerning its existence.

The fault of those who attempt the arduous feat of

constructing philosophically a material and extended universe of reality out of the simple states of mind, is mainly one of method. They argue as though the mind stood out of all connection and relation to the body and employ indiscriminately a set of terms, each with a different import of meaning, which either escapes them unwittingly or is considered as irrelevant. They confound two points in their actual reasonings which good logic compels us to keep apart and treat distinctly. These two points are connected with the ambiguous terms "ego" and "non-ego," "mental" and "extra-mental," on the preciseness of whose meaning we have just been descanting. When the problem of the perception of a material universe looms up before the mind for consideration, instead of one confused question, we have in point of fact two distinct questions requiring distinct treatment and separate answer. The first is: my apprehension of extended reality in any form; and the second, my cognition of the "non-ego," that is, my knowledge of that portion of the material world which is wholly extra-organic, outside my own entirety of self. In answer to the first—it is quite clear that the *ego* has an immediate and presentative perception of extension in the case of its own organism. The mind (i. e. soul) is conscious of its own peculiar operations and it is conscious of the resistance offered its action by the muscular fibre of the body. From sensations of sight and pressure, space of two dimensions is directly revealed to the mind. Theorize as we may as to the cause of such sensations, whether it be internal or external, the conscious state aroused immediately presents extension. If extension were not thus presented, whence comes the notion of space of which we are all conscious? No fusion, aggregation or integration of mental states, which of themselves do not present any element of extension, could ever produce the notion of extension which we have. An integration of zeros can never give rise to a real unit. Only on the score that some of our senses directly present extension to us, can we account for the

representations which we are constantly making of material objects. How can we be said to represent material reality unless it has been in some wise already presented? Along the lines, therefore, of its own organism, it is easy to see that mind comes into immediate contact with a reality not itself. The inner experience of each rises to attest the truth of what we are averring.

The second question that follows fast in the wake of the first, is wider in scope and meaning. Granting that the *ego* has an immediate perception of extension in the case of its own organism, are there among its percipient acts any which immediately make known to us the existence of a reality entirely other than ourselves? In answer to this query, no one who has grasped the import of our method and reasoning with regard to the direct presentation of extension in some percipient acts, can logically deny that with this direct revelation of extension there is given an immediate apprehension of "otherness," at least in the sense of extra-mental. Space of two dimensions revealed in our own bodies as well as in outlying objects by the sense of sight and pressure, is certainly not cognized as an attribute of simple mental modification, a property of mind; but is known as unalterably opposed to the subjective act of consciousness. Thus whether extension be referred to my own body or to the realities that lie without, there is always given in its presentation an immediate apprehensive knowledge of what is not mind. We do not apprehend extension as belonging to mind or inhering in it, but as something entirely other than the mind itself.

But this is only half the problem. Am I justified in making the additional statement that not only is "extension" presented as irreducibly "opposed" to mind, but also as "other" than my whole organic self? This is the acme of the whole discussion, the most complicated part of the problem we are endeavoring to solve. Yet, strange though it may appear, its philosophic importance has been unduly magnified. Once acknowledged, that exten-

sion is immediately presented in some percipient acts as other than the simple conscious subject we call mind, a real world is as easily built up by inference from the spatial character of my own organic body as if I were made aware in a single perceptive flash that the universe of things about me was distinct from my entirety of self. Once we admit a dual consciousness of a simple unextended mind and an extended objective phenomenon unalterably opposed to what is purely mental, the question is philosophically solved. There is no need of proving that we know outer realities as wholly other than ourselves, immediately and directly. The knowledge of an external universe real and distinct from us the knowers may as well be a result of complex sifting, analysis, comparison and inference as the fruits of immediacy. The only point that needs philosophic safe-guarding is the immediate apprehension of extended reality.

A critical realism becomes, therefore, in the light of the foregoing a sound solution of the complex problems of human knowledge. If, however, we do not intuit reality in some of our percepts, the external world is a well-managed delusion that requires sufficient explanation. Before taking for granted that we cannot become directly cognizant of extra-conscious reality, is it not wise to give the possibility of such a fact the benefit, at least, of careful consideration? The principle of the impossibility of immediate intercourse between mind and reality is a will-o'-the-wisp which should not be followed with an overweening confidence. It results in offset purposes and useless détours. The fact of the whole matter, the only proper starting-point in the problem, is the intimate and substantial union of soul and body, not a separatist abstraction. What might happen were these two realities not so compacted is matter for pure speculation. Body, though intimately united with soul, is as much a reality of the universe, and as such as much outside of soul, despite its union with it, as a castle on a wooded height in the distance or a star whose glimmerings are barely dis-

cernible in the firmament. What boots it, in our inquiry into the validity of our knowledge, to entangle ourselves in endeavors to gather the precise way in which we do actually know reality, unless we begin with facts and not an aprioristic principle? To start with an idea that the soul knows only its subjective states and attempt to show how this knowledge constructs for us a universe of reality is to reverse right reason and invite fiasco. The question should at first be rigorously confined to fact, not principle. We know that "a blade of grass groweth and oft-times bloweth into flower," yet precisely how this takes place is not vouchsafed the most earnest enquirer. Facts once known are sufficient for scientific knowledge. After-hypotheses as to mode or manner, as to what precise way such knowledge is gained, do not touch the stability of the facts ascertained scientifically. Mediate realists make their starting-point a misleading hypothesis in the light of which, as in a distorted medium, they reach their view of things. A fault of method is responsible for the differing systems now in vogue.

It is clear, then, that if we start from a purely subjective basis, no process of sifting will ever give us outer reality. All thought concentrated upon inner impressions professedly such, with the hope of finding the talisman at whose touch all will be made real, is as futile as the Alchemist's search after prime matter and as intangible as the views of extravagant Schoolmen whom we never tire of scoring for the barrenness of conclusions reached after weary years spent in an unproductive tillage. Solution can never come from a subjective source, whether in facts or method. Reality cannot easily be crowded out. When we imagine ourselves in the furthest remove therefrom, it crops out unwittingly as a factor in our reasonings. Analyze and sift reality and you may eventually, through abstraction, arrive at something ideal. In this there is no absurdity. But to piece together a cluster of ideals and out of them recompose reality, is to paint a ship upon a painted ocean. Once

we let slip the shreds of reality incoming with every presentation of objects, we are by that very fact logically "hors de combat." A Prometheus is needed to steal the fire of reality and breathe it into the unreal.

In a return to rigid starting-points lies the hope of every reconstructionist. A change of plan is sorely needed. We find ourselves to-day more than ever perplexed and discomfited at the trend of our conclusions. Thought is sterilized and science is asked the countersign at every step. Why not reconnoitre the positions taken and strengthen points that are well-nigh unshielded? If we have been led unawares into a plan of campaign that needs alteration because of our initial oversight, the law of adjustment, proper and precise, will enable us to reform and rectify. Paradoxes should not be suffered to cloud our line of vision. What is apparently most apart in nature, is found on closer search to be in intimate communion. Mind and reality, soul and body, matter and force are as so many extremes that meet. The problem of the bridge between the real and ideal that shimmers as in a mirage before us, vanishes in mist which lifts to the clearer view. As the poet has it:

"Who loves not knowledge? Who shall rail
Against her beauty? May she mix
With men and prosper! Who shall fix
Her pillars? Let her work prevail."

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

THE ACTS OF APOLLONIUS.¹

In the book announced above, Mr. Conybeare gives us a series of Acts of Martyrs, which he has translated from Armenian into English. It contains, on the whole, eleven pieces, namely, the Acts of Apollonius, of Paul and Thekla, of Phocas, of Polyeuctes, of Eugenia, of Codratius, of Theodore, of Thalelaeus, of Hitzibouzit, of St. Callistratus, and of St. Demetrius. The originals of these translations are to be found in a repertory of Acts of Martyrs, written in the ancient Armenian tongue and published at the Armenian Monastery of San Lazzaro, in Venice, in the year 1874. Most of these martyrdoms were known before to the learned world, either by Greek, Latin, or Syriac versions. From these we have to exclude, first, the Acts of St. Apollonius, which were altogether unknown till the publication of them by the Mekhitarist Armenians in Venice; even then they escaped the attention of scholars until the English translation of them appeared by Mr. Conybeare in "The Guardian" of the 18th of June, 1893. Secondly, we have to except the Acts of Codratius, which are preserved only in the Armenian text, and those of St. Hitzibouzit. The remainder of these Acts, although known either in a Greek or Latin form, was given from the Armenian text, because, according to the editor, it contains an earlier form of the narrative. The Acts in question refer to martyrs of various countries and various epochs of the early centuries. St. Apollonius suffered in Rome in the reign of the Emperor Commodus (180-192). The Acts of Paul and Thekla refer us to the apostolic times and exhibit a description of the private life of the great Apostle of the Gentiles and his immediate fol-

¹The Apology and Acts of Apollonius and other Monuments of Early Christianity. London, 1894.

lowers, one of whom was the virgin, Thekla. By the Acts of St. Phokas we receive some information about the persecution at the time of the Emperor Trajan (98-117), chiefly in the provinces of Bithynia and Pontus. The history of St. Polyeuctes, who, according to the Acts, suffered in the East, in the city of Melitene, in Cappadocia, treats of the persecution in the middle of the third century, about the time of the Emperor Decius (250-253) or Valerian (253-260). The martyr, St. Eugenia, according to her Acts, a daughter of Philip, Eparch of Egypt in the reign of Septimius Severus, suffered in Rome in the first half of the third century. The Acts of St. Codratius concern the history of the persecutions under Decius (250-253) and Valerian (253-260), in Nicomedia. The persecution of the Emperor Licinius in the East (313-323) is spoken of in the Acts of St. Theodore. St. Thalelaeus, whose Acts come next, suffered towards the year 283 or 285, according to the Bollandist editor; according to Mr. Conybeare his martyrdom occurred as early as the reign of the Emperor Hadrian (117-138) in Asia. The piece relating the martyrdom of St. Hiztibouzit "preserves an interesting picture of the Province of Ararat during the last years of Chosrow, King of Persia. The martyrdom of the saint fell in the forty-third year of Chosrow, about A. D. 574. St. Callistratus and his companions, who were levied as recruits from Carthage, were probably executed in Rome. The date of the Acts is very likely to be fixed between the years 300 and 350; the martyrdom itself occurred during the reign of Diocletian. The martyrdom of St. Demetrius, which is narrated in the last piece, occurred in the city of Thessalonica during the reign of the Emperor Maximian (286-305).

As to the genuineness of these pieces, there are some which seem to be above exception, as, for instance, the Acts of St. Apollonius. The others contain, if not in all their parts an exact historical narrative, at least a substratum of historical truth. Even the Acts of Phocas, rejected by the Bollandist editor as spurious, are, according

to Mr. Conybeare, based on a contemporary and veridical narrative, which was enlarged and increased in the third and fourth centuries. So, likewise, Mr. Conybeare is inclined to believe that the Acts of Paul and Thekla bear a character of historical narrative, which, he thinks, is established by the recent archæological and geographical researches, specially by those of Prof. W. M. Ramsay. He goes, however, yet beyond the conclusion arrived at by Prof. Ramsay in his study on the Acts of Paul and Thekla.¹ According to the latter, said Acts go back ultimately to a document of the first century, which has been revised and enlarged, about A. D. 130, or soon after. The reasons on which Prof. Ramsay bases his conclusion are several difficulties and anachronisms met with in the narrative. They seem to be inconceivable, in the hypothesis that they have to be attributed to a contemporary writer. Mr. Conybeare, with his translation from the Armenian eliminates these points of difficulty, attributing them not to a later reviser and editor, but to the faulty copies of the Greek text, which alone Prof. Ramsay had before him. The Armenian version represents to Mr. Conybeare a more ancient version of the Acts than any other form hitherto known, and, therefore, he believes that they are genuine, with the exception of some unlikely episodes. The Bollandists reject them as altogether apocryphal.²

In the general preface to his publication, Mr. Conybeare, besides indicating the aim of his translations, the originals of them, the methods pursued, gives us also a general essay on the Acts of Martyrs, enumerating various characteristics, by which we may distinguish early Acts from compositions of a later age.

To each piece in particular he has prefixed a short introduction "discussing its authenticity and other questions of interest which arise in connection with it." Both

¹The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170. London, 1893; p. 375.

²A Greek text of these Acts was published last year by the Bollandists in their *Analecta Bollandiana* (vol. XIV, 1895, p. 284,) from the Greek Codex, No. 1219, of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The learned fathers think it a later and inferior form of the story of Apollonius, written out in the twelfth or thirteenth century.—EDITOR.

the general preface and the particular introductions are of great value to the student of these documents. By his whole book, Mr. Conybeare has rendered a great service to the science of Christian antiquities, making accessible the reading of such venerable documents to a great many, who otherwise would scarcely, if at all, have the opportunity of knowing them. But I would not do justice to the readers of the *BULLETIN* if I did not make them more closely acquainted with the Acts of St. Apollonius, which are, if I may say so, the gem of Mr. Conybeare's publication. First, I shall place before them a summary of the said Acts and touch then on various questions concerning them. The introduction and the learned notes added to the text by the editor will be of great help to me.

“Christ, the giver of all things, prepares a crown of righteousness for those, who stand firm in their faith and belief in God. One of these champions of Christ was the Holy Apollonius, who, after having lived a good life in the great Rome, was called upon to bear witness before the Senate and the Prefect, Perennis. His memorials are as follows: Perennis, the Prefect, commanded that he should be brought before the Senate and said to him: O! Apollonius, wherefore dost thou resist the laws and decrees of the emperors, and dost refuse to sacrifice to the Gods? Apollonius said: Because I am a Christian, therefore, I fear God, who made Heaven and earth, and sacrifice not to empty idols. The Prefect said: But thou ought to repent of this mind, because of the edicts of the emperors, and take oath by the good fortune of the autocrat, Commodus. Apollonius replied: He who repents of just and good works, is godless and without hope. And I am firmly resolved to keep the glorious command of God which He taught by my Lord Christ.

It is best not to swear at all, but because of disbelief there is swearing. I am willing to swear by the true God, that we, too, love the emperor and offer up prayers for his majesty.

The Prefect said: Come and sacrifice to Apollo, to the other gods, and to the emperor's image.

Apollonius said: As to sacrifices, and all Christians offer a bloodless sacrifice to God, Lord of heaven and earth and of the sea and of every living being, in behalf of the spiritual and rational images, who have been appointed by the providence of God to rule over the earth, knowing for certain that he (i. e. Commodus) also is established emperor through the one King, God. The Prefect said: Thou wast not summoned hither to talk philosophy. I will give thee one day's respite, that thou mayest advise thyself concerning thy life. And he ordered him to be taken to prison. And after a day he commanded him to be brought forward and said to him: What counsel hast thou formed? Apollonius answered: To remain firm in my religion, as I told thee. The Prefect said: Because of the decree of the senate, I advise thee to repent and to sacrifice to the gods. Apollonius said: I know the command of the omnipotent God, and I remain firm in my religion, and I do no homage to idols made with hands. I have learned to adore the heavenly God, and to do homage to him alone. I will not again debase myself, for it is a great shame to do homage to vile things and to adore what is vain. And men sin in adoring such things. Foolish are those who invented them, and yet more so they that adore and honor them.

The Egyptians do homage to an onion; the Athenians adore the head of an ox in copper. And yet what more is this than dried clay or a baked potsherd? Men sin against themselves by worshipping them, and they are guilty of impiety towards God, because they do not know the truth. They sin in the third place paying homage to men and to angels and to demons, naming them gods. The Prefect answered: You have philosophized enough and have filled us with admiration; but dost thou not know, O Apollonius, the decree of the senate, that no one shall be named a Christian anywhere? Apollonius answered: It is not possible for a human decree of the Senate to prevail over the decree of God. God has appointed death, and after death judgment upon all, over kings and poor men, rulers and slaves and free men and philosophers and honest men. But there is a distinction of death; for this reason the disciples of Christ do daily die, having no part in dissolute desires, not allowing impure sights, enduring tortures and dying for the true God, that they may not die miserably everlasting death. The Prefect said: Art thou bent upon death? Apol-

lonius answered: I have no fear of death; for nothing is more estimable than the life eternal. The Prefect said: I do not understand thy meaning. Apollonius said: What can I do for thee? The Word of God illumines the heart. A certain philosopher who was at hand said: O Apollonius, thou dost insult thyself, for thou art gone exceedingly astray, although thou dost even think to speak profound truths. Apollonius said: I have learnt to pray and not to insult; but thy dissembling bears witness to the blindness of thy heart. The magistrate said: Tell me plainly what thou didst mean. Apollonius answered: The Word of God, the Saviour of souls and bodies, became man in Judea and fulfilled all righteousness and taught a pure religion. He taught us to pacify anger, to moderate desire, to put away sorrow, to take part in pity, to increase love, to cast away vainglory, to abstain from taking vengeance, to despise death, to obey the laws of God, to reverence rulers, to worship God, to look forward to judgment after death, to expect rewards after the resurrection.

Teaching all this by word and deed, he was slain at last, as were also before Him philosophers and just men. The prophets spoke beforehand concerning Him thus: He shall come and shall do good unto all, and shall persuade all men to worship God the Father and Maker of all, in Whom also we believe, rendering homage, because we learn from Him pure commandments; therefore, having lived a good life, we await the hope to come. The magistrate said: I thought that thou wast changed during the night from that mind of dying. Apollonius said: And I expected that thy thoughts would be changed and the eyes of thy spirit be opened by my answer, that thy heart would bear fruit, and that thou wouldst worship God, the Creator of all, and offer thy prayer to him by means of compassion; for compassion shown to men by men is a bloodless sacrifice and wholly unto God. The magistrate said: I would fain let thee go, but I cannot, because of the decree of the senate; yet, with benevolence, I pronounce sentence on thee. And he ordered him to be beheaded with a sword. Apollonius said: I thank my God for thy sentence. And the executioners straightway led him away and beheaded him, while he continued to glorify the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, to Whom be glory forever. Amen."

Such is the rather copious extract from this simple and still beautiful narrative. I have already said, how this precious document was regretted by all scholars as lost, when the Mekhitarist Armenians of Venice discovered it among their Armenian manuscripts and published it with other similar monuments in 1874. Mr. Conybeare gave a first English translation in 1893, republishing it in 1894 with the other translations spoken of. Prof. Adolf Harnack, in Berlin, had the Acts translated into German, and presented them, with a learned monograph, to the Royal Prussian Academy, July 27, 1893. Since then they have been discussed and rediscussed in various historical magazines.

The history of Apollonius and his martyrdom was not altogether unknown, although his Acts were missing. The Church historian, Eusebius, had accredited to the Acts a place in his compilation of old martyrdoms.¹ In the chapter just quoted of his ecclesiastical history he makes honorable mention of the holy martyr Apollonius, saying that at the time of the Emperor Commodus, a servant of the demon accused the Holy Apollonius, "renowned for his culture and philosophy among the believers of that day," to the tribunals. But the unfortunate informer had his legs broken by a sentence of the judge, Perennis, being forbidden, according to a regulation of the emperor, to inform against such as Apollonius. "But the martyr dear to God, after that the judge had besought him much and earnestly, and asked him to give an account of himself before the senate, delivered a most reasonable defense before all of the faith for which he was being martyred, and then was beheaded in accordance, it seems, with the decree of the senate; for there is an ancient law among them that those who have come once before the court and do not change their resolution, shall not be excused on any ground." That the Acts of Apollonius as we have them now regard the same martyr Eusebius speaks of is evident at first sight. All the few

¹Hist. Eccl., V., 21.

details furnished by Eusebius agree, as well, with them. Both speak of a martyr, Apollonius, well trained in the philosophical sciences, who lived in Rome at the time of the Emperor Commodus. They both speak of Perennis, before whom Apollonius appeared, of his apology before the senate, and of the capital punishment by beheading. There is one addition made in the short notice of Eusebius, which is wholly lacking in the Armenian Acts. This is the circumstance of the informer. Eusebius tells us that Apollonius was accused of being a Christian by somebody, a servant of Satan, who had his legs broken on that account. About this incident the Armenian text is silent. For the rest the Acts and the notice of Eusebius agree perfectly.

Besides Eusebius, we find our martyr mentioned also by St. Jerome in his "*Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*."¹ He does not, however, tell us anything more than Eusebius, and his information seems to be derived only from the words of the historian in his ecclesiastical history, rather than from the Acts themselves. Some of the statements of Eusebius are inaccurately rendered by St. Jerome, a fact which points to a hasty and superficial translation. As to the Acts themselves, they contain, at the beginning a short preface, after which follows the verbal process or dialogue between the prefect and the martyr, and, finally, in a few words the sentence of capital punishment and its execution.

The preface does not belong originally to the Acts, and was certainly not written in Rome.

The first part of the assertion will be understood by reflecting that the preface has, in itself, no direct reference to the Acts and the history of St. Apollonius. It is couched in very general and vague terms, which may be applied to any martyr of Christ. This would not be the case if the author of the Acts had also written the preface. He would have said something particular in regard to Apollonius, his trial before the Senate, or the

¹Migne P. L., vol. XXIII, col. 601.

like. That the preface was not written in Rome is proven by the way in which its author speaks of it. The expression "In the great Rome," remarks Mr. Conybeare, after Harnack, shows that this introduction was not written in Rome. Indeed, a Roman writer would have used in this case the terms, "in this great city of Rome," or the like. The real Acts begin with informing us that Apollonius was commanded by Perennis to be brought before the senate and tried there. Here we have necessarily to suppose that something has been left out at the beginning. We do not know, in fact, in what manner Apollonius came into the hands of the Prefect Perennis whether he presented himself spontaneously or whether he was delivered by somebody else. Prof. Harnack conjectures that he was given over to the justice by the informer, of whom Eusebius speaks. The personal details concerning Apollonius are likewise wanting. St. Jerome calls him a senator of the city of Rome, on what authority is hard to tell. Eusebius says only that he was renowned among the believers of that day for his culture and philosophy. That this may be the case is suggested by the apology in behalf of the religion of Christ, which supposes a philosophical cast of mind. Perhaps he belonged to the class of Christians who, like St. Justin Martyr, were fond of posing as philosophers, considering and exhibiting the religion of Christ as the only true and reliable philosophy. This conjecture seems to receive a confirmation from the incident related in the Acts, when a stranger, a philosopher, rebuked Apollonius for the words he had uttered, which did not contain profound truths, as the martyr believed, but rather were senseless talk. At the beginning we are told that the holy martyr, Apollonius, was brought before the senate, where the Prefect Perennis asked him why he resisted the laws of the emperors and did not sacrifice to the gods. To which laws of the emperors does the Prefect here refer? As we shall see later on, the Acts in question belong to the time of Commodus (180-192). Up to that moment there is

only the rescript of Trajan to Pliny, given about the year 112, which, as far as we can ascertain, regulated the policy of the emperor towards the Christians. According to it the Christians, when regularly brought before the tribunals, had to comply with the Roman rites, namely, they had to sacrifice to the gods or suffer punishment.¹ The answer of the holy martyr is precise and noble. He refuses to sacrifice because he is a Christian, who reverences only one God and not vain idols. The Prefect then exhorts the martyr to take the oath by the good fortune of the autocrat, Commodus. The oath was a most sacred thing among the Romans, because usually performed by calling upon the name of some divinity. Therefore, to take the oath by the good fortune of the emperor would mean, not only to respect him, but to pay to him divine honors.² Our martyr, Apollonius, after having first declared that for a Christian it is better not to swear, still, added that he was ready to swear, but only by the true God ; that the Christians also love the emperor and pray for him. The Prefect, unable to grasp the real mind of Apollonius, which was a formal refusal of his request, took the answer of Apollonius as a concession, and asked him to show, in a practical way his love for the emperor by sacrificing, not only to the gods, but also to the emperor's image, but the martyr replied that the Christians had another way of showing honor and love to the emperor than the pagans.

The latter used to offer to his picture or statue incense or wine ; but the Christians offered for the emperor, who was himself a spiritual and rational image of the divine providence of God, a bloodless sacrifice, consisting probably of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, spoken of by Justin Martyr,³ of prayers offered to God for the emperor, and of the practice of virtue as declared by the Martyr at the end of the Acts. The Prefect, considering the monothe-

¹Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 212.

²Cf. Beurlier, *Le Culte Impérial*. Paris, 1891 ; p. 43.

³*Dial. c. Tryph. c. 117*, Migne P. G. VI, col. 745.

istic belief of Apollonius as mere philosophy, ordered him to be taken into prison until the next day. On the second day of the trial, the Prefect renewed his effort to make Apollonius sacrifice to the gods, alluding this time to a decree of the senate instead of speaking again of the laws of the emperor. But the heroic martyr remains as firm as before, and calmly appeals to the commandment of the omnipotent God. He prescribes to adore him alone and not to do homage to idols made with hands and fashioned of gold and silver. Such worship is, indeed, a self-degradation of mankind and a folly, as seen by the Egyptians and the Athenians who adore an onion or a brazen ox-head. It is an impiety committed towards the one God to call gods men, angels or demons. The Prefect interrupts here the martyr, expressing his admiration for the philosophy of Apollonius, but recalling to his mind a decree of the senate according to which no one should be named a Christian. This law of which the Prefect speaks existed already—at least in practice—under the emperors of the first century. Trajan, at the beginning of the second, considers it an established principle in the imperial policy that Christianity itself, the mere name of Christian, is criminal, and liable to severe repressive measure.¹ Apollonius, undisturbed, replies that a human decree can not invalidate the law of God, which we have to obey even on condition of dying for its sake. But death does not frighten the Christians, who die daily, mortifying their unholy desires, and who suffer even tortures willingly to escape death everlasting. The Prefect hearing the martyr speaking of death asks him if he was determined to die; to which Apollonius answered that his desire was to live in Christ, but that he did not fear death, which would procure him the entrance to everlasting life. How clearly and vividly does the martyr here express his belief in and his hope of the future life, which is to come after this earthly one!

¹Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 223, 245, 250, 281.

The Prefect was unable to understand this simple Christian truth and remarked it to Apollonius. The latter modestly replied that this did not depend on him, but on God alone, who, through His word, illumines the heart of man. At this moment a singular incident happened. A philosopher who chanced to be near by, and who evidently held Apollonius in great esteem, said to the Christian martyr, that by his words he insulted his reputation, believing to expound profound truth. Apollonius replies, in a somewhat lively manner, that such things were of a different access to strangers. The Prefect asked him then once more what he really meant. Apollonius then began to speak of the Word of God, Christ, the Saviour, who became man in Judea and founded a new religion. Teaching both by His word and by his example to live an undefiled and holy life He gave a certain assurance to His followers of being rewarded for their virtues in the life to come with everlasting happiness. The magistrate seeing that Apollonius persevered in his belief expressed to him his disappointment. But the holy martyr, looking upon his judge with true Christian pity and charity, said that he rather expected to see him changed and worshipping God, the Creator of all. Perennis, moved by the kindness of the martyr, showed his gratitude by saying that if it depended on him he would set him free, but the decree of the senate was in his way. He pronounced then a mild sentence, condemning him to be beheaded instead of being thrown to wild beasts or submitted to other shocking forms of death. The martyr, thanking God for this sentence, was immediately led away and executed.

We can not but admire the frank and noble behavior of this hero of Christianity toward his judge. He is not ashamed of his religion, he makes from the very beginning an open avowal of it, saying that he was a Christian. Still he is far from insulting those who are of another mind and who are just on the point of condemning him for this very profession of Christianity. He replies always

to the questions addressed to him by the Prefect Perennis, without showing in the least any resentment, as we are wont to see often expressed in strong terms in other Acts of Martyrs, especially in those of a suspicious character. We have to admire also the simplicity and sublimity in the martyr's description of the principal truths of the Christian religion. He speaks so plainly and yet so beautifully of the unity of God, who admits nobody outside Himself equal to Him, of the immortality of the soul, expecting a future life after this; of the moral teaching of Christ, the Word of God, imposed upon His followers; of the hopes and expectations of the Christians as to rewards in a future life. The character of Apollonius and his apology before the senate, give us a high, lofty idea of the Christian religion and its teaching, as it was lived up to and understood by these early Christians, our noble ancestors. Prof. Harnack remarks rightly that the apology of Apollonius is the most honorable we possess from early Christianity.

A very peculiar feature of the Acts is exhibited by the part which the senate took in the trial and condemnation of the martyr. To begin with, it is a striking fact that Apollonius was summoned by the Prefect of the Pretorian Guard to appear before the senate, and give there an account of his acts. As a matter of fact we are not accustomed to see in other Acts of martyrs the interference of this body. In Rome itself it belonged to the Prefect of the City, on whom devolved, in the course of time, all criminal jurisdiction, or to the Prefect of the Pretorians, representing the Emperor, to examine the case of a delinquent against the religion of the State.¹ Was it, perhaps, because Apollonius was really a senator or of senatorial rank, as St. Jerome informs us;² or was it because the Emperor Commodus, influenced by his Christian wife, Macrina, being rather lenient towards the Chris-

¹Cf. *Acta S. Justini* in Ruinart, p. 105. Mommsen, *Roem. Staatsrecht*, vol. II., 101 sq., 233.

²Cf. Paul Allard, *Hist. des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles*, p. 451.

tians, left as much as he could of the responsibility of dealing with them, to the senate?¹ But whatever may be the case, it is not the competence of judging criminal causes that we may contest to the senate;² it is rather the unusualness of the fact which surprises us. It is, indeed, a mark of the favorable current then existing in regard to the Christians, to see one of their adherents, who were generally considered as criminals of the lowest class, as outlaws, honored by being ordered to appear before the senate.

In the course of the trial, the Prefect Perennis refers several times to a decree of the senate, by which the Christians were ordered to sacrifice to the gods, or were forbidden to bear the name of Christian. These words of the prefect, as already pointed out, do not speak of decrees of the senate distinct from the imperial laws or established principles in dealing with the Christians. At the end also the same Perennis, before pronouncing his sentence, speaks again of a decree of the senate which prevents him from setting Apollonius free. Did he mean by this the condemnatory decree in this particular case, or does he understand the general decree or law of the senate condemning a culprit who refuses to sacrifice to the gods of the empire?

The second hypothesis seems to be more probable; first, because the prefect does not specify any further what this decree of the senate is. He supposes it to be known, consequently it is equivalent to the decree spoken of before. Secondly, it is the prefect himself, who pronounces the sentence without any further reference to the senate. It is he who specifies the kind of punishment (capital) and the manner of executing (beheadal by the sword). Thus, in conclusion, the part of the senate is restrained to a mere assistance at the trial. The interrogatory is conducted by the prefect of the Pretorian Guard, the grounds on which the accusation is based are

¹Conybeare, p. 40, note to § 13.

²Mommsen, op. c., vol. II., p. 111.

the imperial laws and the imperial policy in regard to the Christians ; finally, the sentence is pronounced and specified by the same Pretorian prefect.

As to the time to which our Acts refer we have sufficient details to enable us to fix it with great precision. First, the trial of Apollonius is said to have taken place at the time of Commodus (180-192), who, in the Acts, is spoken of as the autocrat or the living emperor. Second, the prefect of the Pretorian Guard had charge of the whole affair. This officer of the Imperial Guard was appointed not long after the beginning of the reign of Commodus, say about 182 or 183. He enjoyed the confidence of his master until the year 185, when Commodus, rendered suspicious by the enemies of Perennis, ordered him to be killed.¹ We have then to place the martyrdom of St. Apollonius between the years 182 and 185. The text of Eusebius gives us the impression that the trial of the Saint did not happen until after the Church had enjoyed a certain period of tranquillity. In fact we know that the emperor Commodus was more indulgent to the Christians than Marcus Aurelius, his father, and predecessor on the imperial throne. This consideration would, then, lead us to assume the year 185 as the probable date of the Saint's execution.

It is not possible for us to establish with more certainty this date, because the consular year is lacking in our Acts ; nor do we find his name with chronological indications in the early Roman calendar of the year 354, or in the so-called "*Martyrologium Hyeronimianum*." In the first calendar there is no Appollonius at all ; in the second there is one at the 14 Kal. Maj. (18th of April), under the rubric of Rome, without any further detail. Whether he be our Apollonius or not, I am unable to decide.

The last question which I have to treat shortly in connection with these Acts regards their authenticity. Can we rely upon these Acts and consider them as trustworthy

¹chiller' *Gesch. der Roem. Kaiserzeit*, vol. I., p. 663.

and historical, or are they a compilation of a later time? It is generally agreed among critics that they are among the few genuine pieces of Christian literature of this kind. We may say immediately in their favor that there is nothing which can seriously be objected to the contrary, and as long as this is the case we have no right to suspect them. The few difficulties which we may encounter in their details concerning Roman administration, the management of criminal cases or the like, do not justify our mistrust in their regard. As we have no systematic description of the Roman government from ancient times, we need not be surprised if, in a certain writing, we meet with some detail that has hitherto escaped our notice; but we find in the Acts some positive characteristics, which convince us of their authenticity. In the first place the language of Apollonius is plain, simple, and forcible, without any effort at oratorical ornamentation, such as would flow naturally from the lips of a calm but convinced adherent of the Christian religion. The whole narrative does not contain any additional part of a miraculous character, like these we meet so often in the fifth century Acts.

Secondly, the profession of faith made by the martyr is likewise so plain, simple, and natural that we cannot refrain from attributing it to the second century. The Christians of those early days spoke of one God as the Creator of heaven and earth, and of Christ as the Son of God, the Saviour of mankind, just as we find it in the apology of Apollonius. Christ is said twice by him to be the Word of God; but this must not shake our confidence. St. John, in the beginning of his Gospel, had considered the Son of God as the Word of God, and this concept was rendered familiar by the works of St. Justin Martyr. Besides, our martyr, Apollonius, does not give himself to any theological discussion or deduction when speaking of the Word of God.

Let us now suppose that our Acts had been written some centuries later, say the fourth or fifth. Would we

not find there in the creed expressed the development to which our Christian doctrine of Holy Trinity or of the nature of Christ had reached? Would we not at least find some sort of an allusion to the theological controversies going on or settled in those ages in regard to the same subject? In our Acts we do not find anything of the kind; a good reason to assume that they belong to the second century. Thirdly, the impression we receive from the Acts of the imperial policy as to the Christians, corresponds exactly to the real situation as far as we know it. The good disposition of the Emperor Commodus toward the Christian was communicated naturally and insensibly to his surroundings and officials. Thus we see that Apollonius is treated with certain regard by his judge, the Pretorian Prefect, who almost let him go free; but compelled as he was to condemn him, he inflicted on him a rather mild punishment, the beheadal by the sword. Lastly we have the express statement of Eusebius, who not only mentions the martyr and the circumstances of his death in his ecclesiastical history, but had given to the Acts a place in his compilation of ancient martyrdoms. All this shows that the great historian of the fourth century considered them as genuine; and his testimony must not be underestimated, as he was rather careful in sifting out his documents, of which he found abundant material in the libraries put at his disposal, especially in that of Aelia Capitolina or Jerusalem.

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VATICAN ARCHIVES: GREENLAND AND AMERICA.

As the Vatican documents published by Mr. Heywood in his very rare folio work¹ are not easily accessible to all lovers of the early history of America, the editors of the BULLETIN have thought that it would be a useful act to publish them in its pages, so that these valuable sources might be placed at the disposal of a larger number. The documents which we reprint in this issue are ten in number,—letters of Innocent III., John XXI., Nicholas III. and Martin IV. to the archbishop of Drontheim, in Norway; of Nicholas V. to the bishops of Iceland; and of Alexander VI. in favor of Mathias, bishop-elect of Gardar in Greenland.

The first letter, that of Innocent III. to Thorer, archbishop-elect of Drontheim (1206-1214), confers on him the pallium, and commemorates his metropolitan jurisdiction over the bishops of Oslo, Hamar, Bergen, Stavanger, the Orkneys, Iceland, and Greenland.

The next four documents (2-5) are from the chancery of John XXI., written to Archbishop Joannes Rufus of Drontheim, and treat of the collection through Norway and its dependencies of the tithes for the Crusades. Two letters of Nicholas III. (6-7) touch on the same, as does also the letter of Martin IV. (8) to the archbishop of Drontheim. The letter of Nicholas V. to the bishops of Skalholt and Holar (9) bear witness to the sad disappearance of the Catholic faith in Greenland. The letter of Alexander VI. (10) wants an exact date, but is supposed

¹Documenta Selecta e Tabulario Secreto Vaticano quae Romanorum Pontificum erga Americae populos curam ac studia tum ante tum paullo post insulas a Christophoro Columbo repertas testantur phototypia descripta, Typis Vaticanis viginti quinque exemplaria ita sunt adornata ut illustrioribus tantum bibliothecis distribuereantur. Rome, large in folio, 1893.

to have been written shortly after the year 1492, in the earlier part of his pontificate. It describes the remote and pitiable condition of the faithful of Greenland, and remits to their bishop-elect, Mathias of Gardar, all dues and taxes on his promotion.

These ten documents form that chapter of the chartularium of the Church of Norway which deals with her insular dependencies. No doubt much more has perished, but enough remains to show that the Curia had a knowledge of and an interest in the lonely territories that lay far off in the Atlantic flood, where the dwellings of men were six days' journey apart, and the visits of merchants rare, sometimes at intervals of eighty years; where wealth consisted in hides and peltries and the products of whaling; where wine and bread and oil were obtained with difficulty, and barter was slow, and coin depreciated; where men lived on dried fish and milk, and carried their tents of skin on the sledges that bore them over the great icebergs (*causantibus intentissimis aquarum congelationibus*); where the savage Esquimaux harried the white settlers, and cut them off from the sea, and left them at last without priest or mass,—with only a corporal that they kept one hundred years and exposed once a year, waiting for the return of their priests.

The Roman officials knew that the church of Gardar was *in fine mundi sita, in terra Gronlandiae*, and that its power to pay tithes was limited, but they also knew that it once had a flourishing Christianity, with many churches and a very fine cathedral; that St. Olaf had founded the faith there in the ninth century; and that it had been preserved by the watchfulness of the Apostolic See. What a pity that there should have perished any jot of the letters between Rome, Greenland, Iceland and those far more distant shores, now so populous, that loom out vaguely from the pages of the Sagas, only to fade away again like some unsubstantial pageantry of dreamland!

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

[Innocentius III.]

1.

[13 Febr. 1206.]

.. Nidrosiensi archiepiscopo eiusque successoribus canonice substituendis, in perpetuum. Licet omnibus ligandi et solvendi sit concessa potestas, licet unum preceptum ad omnes idemque pervenerit predicandi evangelium omni creature, velut quedam tamen inter eas habita est discretio dignitatis et dominicarum ovium curam, que omnibus imminebat, unus singulariter suscepit habendam, dicente ad eum Domino: Petre amas me? Pasce oves meas. Qui etiam inter omnes apostolos principatus nomen obtinuit, et de fratrum confirmatione singulare a Domino preceptum accepit, ut in hoc seculare posteritati daretur intelligi, quoniam, quamvis multos ad regimen ecclesie contingeret ordinari, unus tamen solummodo supreme dignitatis locum fastigiumque teneret, et unus omnibus et potestate gubernandi et iudicandi omnes presideret. Unde et secundum hanc formam in ecclesia distinctio servata est dignitatum, et sicut in humano corpore pro varietate officiorum diversa ordinata sunt membra, ita in structura ecclesie ad diversa ministeria exhibenda diverse persone in diversis sunt ordinibus constitute. Aliis enim ad singularum ecclesiarum, aliis autem ad singularum urbium dispositionem ordinatis ac rerum, constituti sunt in singulis provinciis alii, quorum prima inter fratres sententia habeatur, et ad quorum examen subiectarum personarum questiones et negocia referantur. Super omnes autem Romanus pontifex tamquam Noe in archa primum locum noscitur obtinere, qui ex collato sibi desuper in apostolorum principe privilegio de universorum causis iudicat et disponit et per universum orbem ecclesie filios in christiane fidei firmitate non desinit confirmare, talem se curans iugiter exhibere, qui vocem dominicam videatur audisse, qua dicitur: Et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos. Hoc nimirum post beatum Petrum illi apostoli et viri, qui per successiones temporum ad gerendam curam sedis apostolice surrexerunt indesinenti curaverunt studio adimplere et per universum orbem nunc per se nunc per legatos suos corrigenda corrigere et statuenda statuere summopere studuerunt. Quorum quoque vestigia subsecutus felix memorie Eugenius papa, antecessor noster, de corrigendis hiis, que in regno Norveie correctionem videbantur exposcere et verbo ibi fidei seminando iuxta sui officii debitum sollicitus extitit, et quod per se ipsum, universalis ecclesie cura obsistente, non potuit, per legatum suum Nicholaum, tunc scilicet Albanensem episcopum, qui postea in Romanum pontificem est assumptus, executioni mandavit. Qui ad partes accedens,

sicut a suo patrefamilias acceperat in mandatis, talentum sibi creditum largitus est ad usuram et tamquam fidelis servus et prudens, multiplicatum inde fructum studuit reportare. Inter cetera vero, que ad laudem illic nominis Dei et ministerii sui commendationem implevit, iuxta quod predictus antecessor noster ei preceperat, pallem Iohanni antecessori tuo indulsit et, ne de cetero provincie Norweie metropolitani cura possit deesse, commissam gubernationi tue urbem Nidrosiensem eiusdem provincie perpetuam metropolim ordinavit et ei Asloensem, Amatripiensem, Bargsensem, Stavangriensem, insulas Orcades, insulas Fareie, Suthaie et Islandensem et Grenelandie episcopatum tamquam sue metropoli perpetuis temporibus constituit subiacere et eorum episcopos sicut metropolitans suis tam sibi quam suis successoribus obedire. Ne igitur ad violentiam constitutionis ipsius ulli unquam liceat aspirare, nos felices memorie predicti Eugenii et Alexandri atque Clementis predecessorum nostrorum Romanorum pontificum vestigiis inherentes, eandem constitutionem auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti privilegio communimus, statuantes ut Nidrosiensis civitas supradictarum urbium perpetuis temporibus metropolis habeatur, et earum episcopi tam tibi quam tuis successoribus sicut suo metropolitano obediant et de manu vestra consecrationis gratiam sortiantur, successores autem tui ad Romanum pontificem tantum percepturi donum consecrationis accedant, et ei solummodo et Romane ecclesie subiecti semper existant. Porro concesso tibi palleo pontificalis scilicet officii plenitudine infra ecclesiam tantum ad sacra missarum sollempnia per universam provinciam tuam hiis solummodo diebus uti fraternitas tua debebit, qui inferius leguntur inscripti: Nativitate Domini, Epiphania, Cena Domini, Resurrectione, Ascensione, Pentecoste, in sollempnitatibus beate Dei Genitricis semperque virginis Marie, Natalicio beatorum Petri et Pauli, Inventione et Exaltatione sancte Crucis, Nativitate beati Ioannis baptiste, festo beati Iohannis evangeliste, Commemoratione omnium sanctorum, in consecrationibus ecclesiarum vel episcoporum, benedictionibus abbatum, ordinationibus presbiterorum, in die consecrationis ecclesie tue ac festis sancte Trinitatis, et sancti Olavi et anniversario tue consecrationis die. Studeat ergo tua fraternitas plenitudine tante dignitatis suscepta ita strenue cuncta peragere, quatinus morum tuorum ornamenta eidem valeant convenire. Sit vita tua subditis exemplum, ut per eam cognoscant, quid debeant appetere, quid cogantur vitare; esto discretionem precipuus, cogitatione mundus, actione purus, discretus in silentio, utilis in verbo, cura tibi sit magis prodesset hominibus quam preesse. Non in te potestatem ordinis, sed equalitatem oportet pensare conditionis. Stude ne

vita doctrinam destituat, nec cursum vite doctrina contradicat. Memento quod est ars artium regimen animarum. Super omnia studium tibi sit apostolice sedis decreta firmiter observare et tamquam matri et domine tue ei humiliter obedire. Ecce frater in Christo karissime inter multa alia hec sunt pallei, hec sacerdotii, que omnia facile Christo adiuvante adimplere poteris, si virtutum omnium magistram caritatem habueris et humilitatem, et quod foris habere ostenderis intus habebis. Decernimus ergo et c. usque in finem. Dat. Rome apud Sanctum Petrum per manus Ioannis, Sancte Marie in Cosmedin diaconi cardinalis, sancte Romane ecclesie cancellarii, idibus februarii, indictione vj, incarnationis dominice anno M^oCC^oV^o, pontificatus vero domini Innocentii pape iij anno octavo.

[Cf. BRÉQUIGNY, *Diplomata*, Paris 1791, tom. II. 2 p., p. 834 et MIGNE, *Patrologia latina*, tom. CCXV, c. 798.]

2.

[Ioannes XXI.]

[4 Dec. 1276.]

.. Archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi. Tua nobis fraternitas intimavit, quod, cum tibi collectio decime Terre Sancte in regno Norwagie per litteras apostolicas sit commissum et in litteris ipsis contineatur expresse, ut omnes partes eiusdem regni debeas propter hoc personaliter visitare, idque quodammodo impossibile videatur, cum Gardensis diocesis, que de tua provincia et regno existit eodem, a metropolitana ecclesia adeo sit remota, quod de ipsa ecclesia illuc propter maris impedimenta vix infra quinquennium ire quis valeat et redire ad ecclesiam supradictam, ac ideo dubites, quod adhuc infra temporis spatium ad solutionem ipsius decime constituti apostolicum sive tuum ad partes illas non valeat pervenire mandatum; postulasti super hoc per apostolice sedis providentiam remedium adhiberi. Cupientes igitur, ut collectioni eiusdem decime sollicitis studiis intendatur, volumus et fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus, si premissa veritas comitetur, aliquas personas ydoneas et fideles, super quibus tuam intendimus conscientiam onerare, ad partes illas destinare procures, que ad executionem collectionis eiusdem diligenter invigilent et intendant aliasque super hoc providere studeas, prout utilitati eiusdem decime videris expedire; nichilominus ad collectionem huiusmodi per te ipsum operose sollicitudinis studium impensurus, ita quod proinde tibi a Domino premium compares et sedis apostolice gratiam uberius merearis. Dat. Viterbii ii nonas decembris, anno primo.

3.

E i d e m. Tua nobis et c. usque in regno Norwagie sit commissa per sedis apostolice litteras speciales, et in eis contineatur expresse, ut omnes eiusdem regni partes debeas propter hoc personaliter visitare, ac plures dioceses in regno ipso tuaque provincia constitute per maris spatia adeo sint disperse ac intra suos limites dilatate, quod fere infra sex annos et absque gravissimo ecclesie tue dispendio partes omnes predictarum personaliter visitare diocesum difficile tibi foret, cum nonnunquam per dietas quinque ac plures etiam te per talia loca procedere oporteret, in quibus ob domorum defectum tecum deferre tentoria cogereris, concedi tibi, ut per easdem dioceses super collectione ipsius decime certos nuntios tuos ydoneos et discretos, mandato apostolico contrario non obstante, deputare valeas postulasti. Nos itaque tua et ecclesie tue dispendia evitantes, tibi, ut, si premissis veris existentibus expedire videris, super quo tuam intendimus conscientiam onerare, nuntios huiusmodi per easdem dioceses super ipsius decime collectione deputare valeas, tenore presentium duximus concedendum; volentes nichilominus, ut tu illas ex predictis diocesibus personaliter visites, quas absque magno incomodo poteris visitare, sollicitum studium adhibens circa collectionem decime supradicte, ita quod exinde premium expectes a Domino, cuius negotium agitur, et favorem apostolicum uberius merearius. Dat. ut supra.

4.

E i d e m. Intimasti nobis, quod, cum propter nimiam episcopatum diffusionem regni Norwagie, in quo tibi per apostolicas litteras collectio decime Terre Sancte deputate subsidio est commissa, duo collectores iuxta promissionem [*l. permissionem*] apostolice sedis in qualibet diocesi ordinati nequaquam sufficiant ad ipsam decimam colligendam, nec per illos posset comode colligi absque magno profluvio expensarum, tu cum consilio et assensu suffraganeorum tuorum ipsius regni pro huiusmodi utilitate negotii statuisti per rura singularum diocesum plures alios collectores, qui suis laboribus et expensis predictam decimam colligant et collectam statutis temporibus duobus collectoribus deferant, qui sunt in civitatibus deputati, unde nobis humiliter supplicasti, ut eorundem collectorum rularium [*l. ruralium*] labores et sumptus benigna meditatione pensantes, aliquam illis indulgentiam concedere curaremus. Volentes itaque, ut iidem collectores rurales fructum ex suis laboribus et sumptibus

consequantur, eis illam indulgentiam impartimur, que ad promotionem negotii Terre Sancte opem et operam exhibentibus est concessa. Dat. ut supra.

5.

Eidem. Intimasti nobis, quod in regno Norwagie, in quo tibi decime Terre Sancte collectio est commissa, usque adeo vilis esse moneta dinoscitur usualis, quod extra ipsius regni limites in pretio non habetur, quodque in quibusdam partibus dicti regni monete usus aliquis non existit nec crescunt segetes neque frugum alia genera producuntur, sed lacticiiniis et piscibus fere dumtaxat vita inibi sustentatur humana. Quare significari tibi a nobis humiliter petivisti, quid de decima, que de lacticiiniis et piscibus et moneta predictis colligitur, debeas ordinare. Nos igitur ad ea, que sunt utiliora negotio intendentes expedire videmus, ut, premissis veris existentibus, in aurum vel argentum, prout commodius fieri poterit, huiusmodi moneta et decima convertantur. De monialibus autem et personis aliis regularibus dicti regni, quorum proventus et redditus ecclesiastici adeo sunt tenues et exiles, quod ex illis sustentari non possunt, sed pro habenda vite sue sustentatione necesse habeant publice mendicare et helemosinas petere, servare poteris, quod in declarationibus super ipsius decime editis plenius continetur. Dat. ut supra.

[Cf. MUNCH, *Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskabs og Dagbøger, førte under Tiende-Opkrævnningen i Norden 1282-1334*. Christiania 1864, p. 143 s.]

6.

[Nicolaus III.]

[31 Jan. 1279.]

Venerabili fratri . . . archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi. Ex transmissa nobis nuper tuarum collegimus serie litterarum, quod insula, in qua civitas Cardensis consistit, propter malitiam maris Oceani, infra quod ipsa consistit, raro navigio visitantur; unde, cum nuper quidam naute ad eiusdem insule visitationem tenderent vela in altum, tu huiusmodi oportunitate captata quendam discretum virum, colligendi decimam commissio sibi officio, cum dictis nautis ad civitatem transmissisti eandem, et sub spe nostre ratificationis concessisti eidem, ut clericos ab excommunicationis sententia, quam pro eo quod huiusmodi decimam in statutis super hoc terminis non solverunt incurrerant, absolveret et cum eis dispensaret super irregularitate, si quam

proinde forsitan contraxerunt. Quare a nobis humiliter postulasti, ut ratificare benignius dignaremur. Cum itaque huiusmodi postulationi, ut pote que rationis viribus non iuvatur. [*l. iuvatur, non*] acquiescere favorabiliter nequeamus, ac propter hoc cupientes huiusmodi tuis desideriis annuere et animarum periculis per consequens occurrere provisionis remedio salutaris, presentium tibi auctoritate commictimus, ut absolvendi clericos tam in predicta quam aliis insulis maris eiusdem constitutos a predicta sententia iuxta formam ecclesie et dispensandi cum eis super irregularitate huiusmodi libere commictere valeas officium hiis, quos propter collectionis ministerium ad predictas insulas destinasti vel forsitan imposterum destinabis. Dat. Rome apud Sanctum Petrum II kalendas februarii, anno secundo.

[Cf. MUNCH, l. c. p. 146.]

Eidem magistro Bertrando Amalricii.

Dat. Rome apud.

Sanctum Petrum v idus iunii, anno secundo.

7.

[Nicolaus III.]

[9 lun. 1279.]

Eidem [magistro Bertrando Amalrici]. Te nuper significante accepimus, quod in cathedralibus ecclesiis in Datie et Suetie regnis constitutis nonnulli redditus devotione fidelium deputati existunt, ex quibus per personam ad hoc specialiter deputatam clericis ecclesiarum infra eadem regna consistentium vinum et ostie annis singulis ministrantur. Quia vero, an de huiusmodi redditibus exigere debeat decima, consultationem a sede apostolica postulasti, nos tuam diligentiam commendantes discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus, si proventus ipsi sint adeo magni, quod ministratis vino et ostiis multum ex illis noveris superesse, volumus, quod de illis huiusmodi decima persolvatur; si vero nihil vel parum ex predictis redditibus superesset, nichil persolvatur de ipsis propter reverentiam divini cultus et Domini sacramentum. Dat. ut supra. [Rome apud Sanctum Petrum v idus iunii, anno secundo].

[Cf. MUNCH, l. c. p. 150].

8.

[Martinus IV.]

[4 Mart. 1228.]

Venerabili fratri . . archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi. Tua nobis fraternitas intimavit, quod decima, que in Islandie et Feroyum insulis in regno Norwegie constitutis in diversis rebus persolvitur, que de facili permutari vel pecunialiter vendi non possunt, propter quod decima eadem nequit ad Terram Sanctam vel ad sedem apostolicam comode destinari. Subiuncxisti quoque, quod Gronlandie decima non percipitur nisi in bovinis et focarum coriis ac dentibus et funibus balenarum, que, sicut asseris, vix ad competens pretium vendi possunt. Unde, quid super premissis a te agendum existat, petiisti te per apostolicę sedis oraculum edoceri. Nos itaque tue sollicitudinis studium commendantes, consultationi tue taliter respondemus, quod tam insularum quam Gronlandie decimas predictarum in argentum vel aurum, prout melius et utilius fieri poterit, convertere studeas, illud una cum [illa] alia decima in ipso regno collecta pro ipsius Terre subsidio ad apostolicam sedem, quamcito poteris, transmissurus, quid et quantum destinaveris fideliter intimando. Ceterum carissimo in Christo filio nostro . . regi Norwegie illustri nostras regatorias litteras destinavimus, ut non impediatur nec impediri permittatur, quin decima ipsa de regno suo libere extrahatur in predictę Terre subsidium secundum apostolicę sedis arbitrium disponenda, quodque prohibitionem contra eiusdem clericos regni factam, ne quivis laicus ipsius regni sterlingos vel argentum aliud vendere quoquomodo presumat, studeat difficultate summotam qualibet revocare. Dat. apud Urbem veterem IIII nonas martii, anno primo.

[Cf. MUNCH, l. c. p. 153].

9.

[Nicolaus V.]

[25 Sept. 1448.]

Nicolaus etc. venerabilibus fratribus Schaoltensi et Olensi episcopis salutem etc. Ex iniuncto nobis desuper apostolicę servitutis officio universarum ecclesiarum regimini presidentes, sic auctore domino pro animarum salute precioso Salvatoris redemptas comertio nostre sollicitudinis curam impendimus, ut illam non solum impietatis et errorum procellis sepius fluctuantes, sed et erumnis et persecutionum turbinibus involutas ad statum optime tranquillitatis reducere studeamus. Sane pro parte dilectorum filiorum indigenarum et universitatis habi-

tatorum insule Grenolandie, que in ultimis finibus Oceani ad septemtrionalem plagam regni Norwegie in provincia Nidrosiensi dicitur situata, lacrimabilis querela nostrum turbavit auditum, amaricavit et mentem, quod in ipsam insulam, cuius habitatores et incole ab annis fere sexcentis Christi fidem gloriosi sui preconis beati Olavi regis predicatione susceptam, firmam et intemeratam sub sancte Romane ecclesie et sedis apostolice institutis servarunt, ac quod tempore succedente in dicta insula populis assidua devotione flagrantibus, sanctorum edes quamplurime et insignis ecclesia cathedralis erecte fuerint, in quibus divinus cultus sedulo agebatur, donec, illo permittente, qui imperscrutabili sapientie et science sue scrutinio persepe, quos diligit, temporaliter corrigit et ad meliorem emendam casgat, ex finitimis lictoribus paganorum ante annos triginta classe navali barbari insurgentes, cunctum habitatorum ibidem populum crudeli invasione aggressi et ipsam patriam edesque sacras igne et gladio devastantes solis [*in*] insula novem relictis ecclesiis parrochialibus, que latissimis dicitur extendi terminis, quas propter crepidines montium commodè adire non poterant, miserandos utriusque sexus indigenas, illos precipue quos ad subeundum perpetue onera servitutis aptos videbant et fortes, tanquam ipsorum tyrannidi accommodatos, ad propria vexerunt captivos. Verum quia, sicut eadem querela subiungebat, post temporis successum quamplurimi ex captivitate predicta redeuntes ad propria et refectis hinc inde locorum ruinis, divinum cultum possetenus ad instar dispositionis pristine ampliari et instaurare desiderant, et quia propter preteritarum calamitatum pressuras fame et inedia laborantibus non suppetebat hucusque facultas presbiteros nutriendi et presulem, toto illo triginta annorum tempore episcopi solatio et sacerdotum ministerio caruerunt, nisi quis per longissimam dierum et locorum distanciam divinorum desiderio officiorum ad illas se conferre valuisset ecclesias, quas manus barbarica illesas pretermisit, nobis humiliter supplicari fecerunt, quatinus eorum pio et salutari proposito paterna miseratione cucurrere [*l. succurrere*] et ipsorum in spiritualibus supplere defectus nostrumque et apostolice sedis in premissis favorem impartiri benivolum dignaremur. Nos igitur dictorum indigenarum et universitatis habitatorum prefate insule Grenolandie iustis et honestis precibus et desideriis inclinati, de premissis et eorum circumstantiis certam noticiam non habentes, fraternitati vestre, quos ex vicinioribus episcopis insule prefate esse intelleximus, per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatinus vos vel alter vestrum diligenti examine auditis et intellectis premissis, si ea veritate fulciri compereritis ipsumque populum et indigenas numero et facultatibus adeo sufficienter esse resumptos, quod id pro

nunc expedire videbitis, quod ipsi affectare videntur, de sacerdotibus ydoneis et exemplari vita preditis ordinandi et providendi plebanos et rectores instituendi, qui parrocchias et ecclesias resarcitas gubernent, sacramenta ministrent et, si vobis sive alteri vestrum demum expedire videbitur et opportunum, requisito ad hoc metropolitani consilio, si loci distancia patietur, personam utilem et ydoneam, nostram et sedis apostolice communionem habentem, eis in episcopum ordinare et instituere ac sibi munus consecrationis in forma ecclesie consueta, nomine nostro impendere et administrationem spiritualium et temporalium concedere, recepto ab eodem prius iuramento nobis et Romane ecclesie debito et consueto, valeatis vel alter vestrum valeat; super quibus omnibus vestram conscienciam oneramus, plenam et liberam vobis vel alteri vestrum auctoritate apostolica concedimus tenore presencium facultatem, statutis et constitutionibus apostolicis et generalium conciliorum ac aliis in contrarium editis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Dat. Rome apud Sanctam Potencianam, anno etc. millesimo quadringentesimo quadragésimo octavo, duodecimo kalendas octobris, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Gratis de mandato domini nostri pape.

[Cf. *Grönlands historiske Mindesmaerker*. Kopenhagen 1845, tom III, pp. 164-74 et UNGER og HUITFELDT, *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. Kristiania 1864, tom. VI. n. 527].

10.

[Alexander VI.]

[Prioribus pontificatus annis.]

Cum, ut accepimus, ecclesia Gardensis in fine mundi sita in terra Gronlandie, in qua homines commorantes ob defectum panis, vini et olei siccis piscibus et lacte uti consueverunt, et ob id ac propter rarissimas navigationes ad dictam terram causantibus intentissimis aquarum congelationibus fieri solitas navis aliqua ab ottuaginta annis non creditur applicuisse, et, si navigationes huiusmodi fieri contingeret, profecto has non nisi mense augusti congelationibus ipsis resolutis fieri posse non existimentur; et propterea eidem ecclesie similiter ab ottuaginta annis vel circa nullus penitus episcoporum vel presbyterorum apud illam personaliter residendo prefuisse dicitur; unde ac propter presbyterorum catholicorum absentiam evenit, quam plures diocesanos olim catholicos sacrum per eos baptismum susceptum pro dolor regnasse [*l. renegasse*], et quod incole eiusdem terre in memoriam christiane religionis non habent nisi

quoddam corporale, quod semel in anno presentetur, super quo ante centum annos ab ultimo sacerdote tunc ibidem existente corpus Christi fuit consecratum; hiis igitur et aliis consideratis considerandis, felicis recordationis Innocentius papa VIII, predecessor noster, volens dicte ecclesie tunc pastoris solatio destitute de utili, de ydoneo pastore providere, de fratrum suorum consilio, de quorum numero tunc eramus, venerabilem fratrem nostrum Mathiam, electum Gardensem, ordinis sancti Benedicti de observantia professum, ad nostram instantiam, dum adhuc in minoribus constituti eramus, proclamatum ad dictam ecclesiam summo opere ac magno devotionis fervore accensum pro deviatorum et renegatorum mentibus ad viam salutis eterne reducendis et erroribus huiusmodi eradicandis vitam suam periculo permaximo sponte et libere submittendo navigio etiam personaliter proficisci intendentem, eidem episcopum prefecit et pastorem. Nos igitur eiusdem electi pium et laudabile propositum in Domino quam plurimum commendantes sibi in premissis aliquo subventionis auxilio propter eius paupertatem, qua, ut similiter accepimus, gravatus existit, succurrere cupientes, motu proprio et etiam ex certa nostra scientia de fratrum nostrorum consilio et assensu, dilectis filiis rescribendario, abbreviatoribus necnon sollicitatoribus ac plumbatoribus illarumque registratoribus ceterisque tam cancellarie quam camere nostre apostolice officialibus quibuscumque sub excommunicationis late sententie pena ipso facto incurrenda committimus et mandamus, ut omnes et singulas litteras apostolicas de et super promotione dicte ecclesie Gardensis pro dicto electo expediendas in omnibus et singulis eorum officiis gratis ubique pro Deo absque cuiuscunque taxe solutione seu exactione expediant et expediri faciant omni contradictione cessante; necnon camere apostolice clericis et notariis, ut litteras, seu bullas huiusmodi dicto electo absque solutione seu exactione alicuius annate seu minutorum servitiorum et aliorum iurium quorumcumque in similibus solvi solutorum [*l. solitorum*] libere tradant et consignent, motu et scientia similibus ac sub penis predictis committimus et mandamus, in contrarium facientes non obstantibus quibuscumque. Fiat gratis ubique quia pauperrimus. R.

As. Ma. Vicecancellarius.

Io. Datarius.

[Cf. IÈLIC, *L'évangélisation de l'Amérique avant Christophe Colomb* in *Compte Rendu du Congrès Scientifique Internationale des Catholiques*. Paris 1891, V. 183].

MISCELLANEOUS STUDIES.

"The Monastic Life," by T. W. Allies, K. C. S. G.¹

For well-nigh half a century Mr. Allies has been an ardent champion of the Church, into whose pale he entered in 1850. Before that his sincerity had been proved by a work in defense of the "Church of England." With characteristic frankness his talents were immediately employed after his conversion in defending with equal ability the Church which he has never left. The "See of St. Peter," "Rock of the Church," "Saint Peter's Name and Office," "Per Crucem ad Lucem," and the series of the "Formation of Christendom," are but some of the works written partly to justify his conversion and partly as a tribute of affection to the Church. Foremost among them, however, stands the last mentioned, the eighth volume of which is now in our hands. It is written with a calmness of spirit which one would expect to rarely meet with in a writer who has been for so long placed in the position of a defender of a faith for which he has sacrificed so much, and with a brilliancy of style and laboriousness of investigation that are certainly not called for by his advanced years. It is but another instance of that great peace which descends upon those who after being tossed upon the sea of doubt find a quiet haven near the Rock of Peter. Fitting indeed it is that the author should thus end the long series of the "Formation of Christendom," not amidst the turmoil of controversy but under the quiet shadow of those peaceful retreats where so many before him have found hearts-ease.

It is equally a matter of justice that the monks should come in for their share of praise in such a work, for who but they were the right hand of the Papacy in the evil days! They were the Papal Janizaries, their chosen band, their outposts set up in far distant spots to preserve Christian learning and morality where none but monks were willing or able to live. They were men of no country, because the world was God's country, and therefore were they missionaries when and where no other clergy

¹ Vol., London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1896.

could be had to do the work. The Irishman on the banks of the Rhine or amidst the trackless Black Forest, or the Lombard on the Thames,—all were at home in all places, carrying with them everywhere the torch of civilization, at least wherever it was carried.

But above all was their influence in the formation of Christendom felt in reducing the scattered national churches into the unity of a single one under the obedience to its chief at Rome. Past are the days when the monk was known only by lying caricature in Walter Scott's novels. Late, but none the less surely, is he receiving his meed of praise, none the less sweet, perhaps, for its tardy or unwilling appearance.

The following summary will, perhaps, aid the passing reader to form an idea of the contents of the book:

I.

RISE AND PROGRESS FROM ANTHONY TO BONIFACE.

1° *Rise*.—In the year 325 was held the first council at Nicea, and was founded by Pachomius the first monastery, one day's journey down the Nile from Thebes. But whilst Pachomius is accounted the first legislator of the monastic life, the predecessor of Benedict, Basil and Columban, his fame is far outshone by Anthony, the great type of the monk, whose life by Athanasius fills up the first chapter. Born in 251, he led a life of over one hundred years of penance, fifty-five in solitude, the rest in the midst of the monks whom his example had collected around him. A most strange life; wherein hair-breadth escapes from death by thirst, strugglings with demons, the intrusion of all the slimy reptiles and ferocious beasts which breed in the mud of the Nile or infest the neighboring mountains, visits to Alexandria in search of martyrdom or in defense of the faith against Arianism, correspondence with the Emperor Constantine and his sons, all succeed one another like the wondrous events in a tale of magic weaving. Its very strangeness has led some to doubt its authenticity, and although the objection seems unnecessary, the author would have done well to mention it.

2° *Introduction into Europe and Asia*.—In 340 Athanasius, driven by the Eusebian party from Alexandria, flees to Pope Julius in company with two monks, Ammon and Isidorus. Under their guidance the monastic life, at first regarded with contempt,

had in 388 become a well known and practiced thing, so quickly had the seed from the Nile taken root on the banks of the Arno and Tiber. St. Jerome thus writes in 397: "Who would believe this, that the descendant of proconsuls, the lustre of the Furian race, should walk among the people of Senators in a sorry, black coat, and not be ashamed at the looks his equals cast upon him." This was Pammachius, the Roman noble. Those two other lights of Western Christianity in the fourth century welcomed its coming. Augustine acknowledges its influence in his own conversion; Ambrose speaks with a poet's delicacy of the numerous monasteries with which Fabiola was lining the coasts of Italy. "Chanted psalms blend with the gentle murmur of the waves, and the islands utter their voice of joy like a tranquil chorus to the hymn of saints." Martin of Tours at the same period founds the first regular monasteries of Ligugè and Mar-moutier in Gaul.

In the East it spreads with equal rapidity under the fostering care of SS. Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, and Chrysostom. Basil, meeting with the numerous ascetics already scattered through Syria and Mesopotamia, introduces their life into Pontus and Cappadocia, becoming the founder of the Basilian order, still existing in the Greek Church.

In 370 Gregory, his brother, Bishop of Nyssa, composes a treatise in praise of Virginité or the State of Perfection, whilst the great Chrysostom of Constantinople celebrates it with his eloquence in the very midst of the profligate court and city.

Thus in the brief space of about seventy years following the establishment of the first monastery by Pachomius, the monastic life had spread over the Empire from Thebes to the shore of the Euxine Sea and Atlantic Ocean, thanks to the peace given the Church by Constantine, which allowed her to develop the spirit of asceticism, up to his time practiced only in private and in constant dread of death.

3° *Expansion under Benedict.*—From Anthony to Benedict the monastic life had in the space of two hundred years covered civilized Asia and part of Europe, yet so far had there been no religious order, strictly so called. To Benedict belongs the glory of giving his name to the first of its kind. Born from a noble Roman family in 480, he deserts his father's palace and occupies a cave in the hills over Subiaco, there setting up in time twelve

monasteries and writing the rule which was to embrace all Europe. In 529 he leaves Subiaco to found the celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, where he died 542. The remaining history of Western Monasticism of that age is but the history of European civilization, and, with one exception, of the Benedictine Rule, to whose "600 years of continuous works we owe it that the warlike barbarians of Scythia and Germany, after subverting the empire, embraced the religion of the Romans." Its immediate conquests were in Gaul, where no less than two hundred and thirty-eight monasteries rose in the sixth century, the pioneer in the work being St. Maurus, sent out in 542 by Benedict, who founded the first Benedictine monastery in France, the famous St. Maur-sur-Loire.

4° *Patrick in Ireland.*—Not from Benedict but from Marmoutier came the influence of monasticism into Ireland, through the instrumentality of Patrick, a relative of St. Martin, who first appears at Glasgow on the Clyde. Born in 373, he is sold as a slave into Ireland at sixteen years of age, escapes after six years into France, where he is received by the aged St. Martin, drifts to Lerina and Rome, whence he is sent by Pope Celestine, when sixty years old, to evangelize the heathen Irish. His labors there consumed sixty years, death ending them at his one-hundred and twentieth year. The seed sown by him took root with marvelous quickness and spread no less quickly all during the sixth and seventh centuries, the golden age of the Irish Church. The monasteries of Clonard, Clonmacnoise, Clonfert, and Bangor became the great centers of spiritual and intellectual life. Bangor sends forth Columban, Clonfert numbers its three thousand monks on the Shannon. From these centers issue missionaries into Britain, Gaul, Germany, Switzerland, even Italy making the Irishman as ubiquitous as he is now. The fame of their learning attracts students from the continent in search of the intellectual culture which was with difficulty keeping alive amidst the barbarous Merovingian period, above all from England, whose sons received gratuitous education for four centuries from those upon whom she was to turn with the gratitude of a warmed adder.

5° *Columban, 543-615.*—"In the year of Benedict's death was born the man who seemed as if for a time his example would exceed in energy and his rule complete in success." Ireland re-

ceived Patrick from France and gives in return Columban. At the age of thirty he lands in Gaul, in the course of his preaching reaches Burgundy, where he founds the great monastic and intellectual center of Luxeuil. Exiled he wanders to Besançon, to Bregenz, finally settling down on the River Trebbia in Italy, where he founds the monastery of Bobbio, on the spot made famous by Hannibal's victory. A disciple named Sigisbert founds Dissentis at the source of the Rhine, but most of his influence went forth from Luxeuil, which spread its monks from Geneva to the Northern Sea. One disciple founds the monastery and the city of Lure, whose abbot in time became one of the Princes of the Empire. Also, an offshoot was Fontenelle, on the Seine. Columban deserves special notice on account of the generous rivalry between the rule of Benedict and that which he had inherited from Patrick, which finally ended in the universal adoption of the former throughout the West. The reader must be careful not to confound Columban with Columba, the apostle of Caledonia.

6° *Columba*, 521-597.—His life will be found in Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, not in the present work, except indirectly; but the reader will find the knowledge of a few facts of his life necessary for the understanding of early Catholicity. Columba is also an Irishman from the monastery of Magh Míche, Down. Becoming involved in civil war, he leaves Ireland for the Isle of Iona, one of the Hebrides, which under his influence becomes a great missionary center for the Scots and Picts and Northern England, where his disciples come into contact with those of Augustine, and with them carry on the long controversy about the correct celebration of Easter and wearing of the tonsure—a fact of much importance in the study of the early English church. Most interesting is the life of this man,—warrior, poet, monk, missionary; possessing all the poetic enthusiasm, self-sacrifice, and hot temper of the Celt; one of the most human of saints, one most easily understood in that age of great virtues and great vices.

7° *Augustine in England*, 596-607.—Rome abandoned Britain as untenable about the beginning of the fifth century, and in consequence the infant British Church had fled before the Saxon invaders, taking refuge in the mountain fastnesses of Wales, so that Augustine on his arrival found practically no vestige of it, and

thereby must be called the founder of English Christianity. This reconversion of England came from neither Patrick nor Benedict, but direct from Rome, at the command of Pope Gregory. Soon after Augustine's landing, Ethelbert, King of Kent, is baptized, Canterbury becomes an archiepiscopal see. In about eighty years the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons is completed by his disciples, rendering possible the first English Council, convened by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, at Hertford in 673, the account of all which is taken principally from the works of Venerable Bede (672-735), by far the most faithful description of its Christian conversion possessed by any nation. The conversion of Northumbria deserves special notice. In 627 King Edwin was baptized, but, upon his defeat by Penda, the pagan, and Saxon King of Mercia, the first germs of Christianity were well-nigh destroyed. Soon after Oswald mounts the throne. During his exile among the Scotti, who had received the faith from missionaries from Iona, he becomes converted, but by Celtic monks. On coming to the throne, he sends for missionaries to spread the faith in Northumbria, receiving Aidan, who brought into England the rule of St. Patrick and the Celtic customs relating to the celebrating of Easter, which later on brought about the conflict with the better instructed missionaries of Augustine. Aidan became bishop of Lindisfarne, succeeded by Finan and Colman, 634 to 664.

In the latter year matters came to a head, a congress was called at Whitby, the abbess of which was St. Hilda, where Wilfrid, famous no less for his physical beauty than his zeal, successfully upholds the more correct and Roman Easter custom against Bishop Colman, who in chagrin returns to Iona. The Celtic rite finally disappeared in Iona itself in 716. Here is the most valuable part of the book, at least for those interested in early English Church History. Out of the material collected by the author one truth stands out clear, namely, that the England of to day received her faith from Rome, in spite of any legends of St. Paul, and the really unimportant controversy of Wilfrid and Colman, unimportant became at bottom a mere matter of discipline, in which the real motive of controversy never was a dislike of Rome by the Celts, but rather an ignorance of facts and national jealousy of the British and Saxon, making no more against the Roman supremacy than the liturgical differences of Armenia or the Copts. In order to make out of it the existence of

a national, independent British church one must sink to level of a lawyer's pleading.

A special chapter is devoted to three nuns of the race of Odin, Hilda, Elfreda, Etheldreda, interesting as an evidence of the high respect in which the virginal life was held by the converted Saxons—a respect which they would seem to have lost. On this point the present British Church is wofully at loggerheads with its imaginary predecessor.

8° *Boniface*, 680-755.—From England Benedict's influence leaps to Germany. Boniface, Winfrid in Saxon, receives from Gregory II. in 718 commission to preach. Passing through Lombardy, Bavaria, and Eastern France he reaches Frisia, assisting Willibrord, also a Saxon, in the conversion of that country. In 723 he is consecrated regionary bishop of Germany, and then begins his real work, assisted by other Benedictine monks from England. Success was so rapid that the first council of Germans was held in 741. His love for monasticism was extraordinary, for he considered monasteries as so many colonies for the diffusion of the faith. One of the most famous is Fulda, founded by a disciple, which became in the course of time the most effective place for the education of the German clergy. As of England so can we say of Germany, that its church constitution is Papal, not national, because it received the faith from Rome and was by Rome fostered in its infancy.

9° *Decline in the East*.—Monasticism met an unsparing foe in Mahometanism whose erotic tendencies are the direct antithesis of the purity from which the former draws its best life. With the progress of Islam monasticism therefore receded step by step until almost enclosed within the walls of Constantinople. Simultaneously disappeared that flourishing Eastern civilization which had cradled Christianity and applauded its first triumphs.

The great city of Ephesus is now to be seen only in the fragments collected by antiquarian research in the British Museum. Hereafter the history of the Church is the history of Western civilization and the new Roman conquest. Monasticism flees from its home on the Nile for shelter in the forests of Germany and the northern isles.

II.

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT.

1° *Evolution of the rule.*—If are considered the two practices of poverty and chastity it is true that monasticism existed from the earliest times, but such a thing as a definite rule followed by a well-constituted Order dates only from St. Benedict in spite of some initial movements in that direction having been made by Pachomius. True, St. Basil's rule was to a great extent followed in the East, but at the beginning of the fifth century there were almost as many rules as monasteries, confusion reigning often in the same monastery, so that St. Benedict can rightly be called the founder of the first religious order. His rule in course of time was supreme from Subiaco to Iona, but its progress met strong opposition from that of Columban. The reader will remember that Columban received his rule, as far as it can be called such, from Ireland, from Patrick, who received it from Marmottier, one of the monasteries which had preceded Benedict's mission in Gaul. This method of asceticism was far more severe, and its final disappearance was a triumph of common sense more characteristic of the former. The merging process was, however, slow, no definite date can be fixed when it was completed, and during it we have seen the rise of such controversies as that which took place at Whitby.

2° *Episcopal jurisdiction.*—At the very rise of monasticism we see this knotty question asserting itself. The Council of Chalcedon ordains that no monastery be built without the consent of the local bishop, to whom they be subject, a decree reaffirmed by a succession of Gallic councils in the sixth century. The first exemption mentioned by the author was obtained by Lerins in 451, later on by St. Maurice in 579, Bobbio and Luxeuil in the following century. The Council of Hertford in 673 forbids bishops to disquiet monasteries by taking from them any of their property.

This gradual exception would seem to have for its basis the intimate *personal* connection of monasticism with the Papacy. Its expansion in the West is mainly due to Papal favor, which saw in it a great missionary force of supreme utility at a time when the secular clergy was not sufficiently well drilled to carry on the work.

III.

BLESSINGS OF MONASTICISM.

1°. *Education of the clergy.*—We have already alluded to the deplorable neglect of the secular clergy in face of monasticism. Seminaries would seem to date from the time of the Council of Trent, the secular clergy up to that time being dependent upon the monasteries for education ; hence it is that these became the mother-houses not only of the priesthood, but also of the episcopate from Benedict to Boniface VIII. at least.

2°. *Conversion of the West.*—From the preceding it is evident that the conversion of Europe is but the history of the Benedictine rule. However, be it remembered, that this conversion was carried on by monks *not as monks*, but as the *clergy in subjection to a constituted bishop*. The bishop with his active clergy was the great civilizer and missionary of the age—he always has been, and no Christian society can long flourish, or can regain its former splendor unless the episcopal order be set as the cornerstone of the work, and the capping-stone of the entire edifice. The bishop then was what he is now—the healthiest expression of Christianity.

3°. *Formation of Europe.*—With the fall of Roman government in the West, Europe lost all pretence to the name of state, government became absorbed in tribal warrings, the forests once again invaded the plains, the Roman peace no longer existed. Difficult as it is to say what would have happened without their influence most undoubtedly to the monk belongs the credit of reorganizing society through the operation of the principles underlying his rule.

(a) *The rule enjoined labor.*—Hence it is the monks whom we see clearing forests like those of Rhone, the Vosges, and the Jura, and substituting the free laborer in place of the serf or the libertinus. So, also, the cities which had disappeared or dwindled to hamlets during those times of discord arose once again under the protecting wall of the monastery. Three-eighths of the cities of France at that period bear the names of monks.

(b) *The rule enjoined study.*—From the rise of the monastic life there are but few important ecclesiastical writers in proportion who had not been either ascetics or monks, e. g., Athanasius, Chrysostom, Augustine, Jerome, Cassian, Vincent of Lerins, Gregory the Great. In their hands theology underwent its initial development. So, also, with all other branches of knowl-

edge. Bobbio becomes the light of northern Italy, Luxeuil the sun of France and Burgundy. Above all, Ireland becomes the last refuge of learning for northwest Europe during the sixth and seventh centuries, when monasteries like Clonard, Clonfert, and Bangor received and taught gratis the Frank from the Seine and the Briton from the Thames.

(c) *The rule enjoined obedience.*—Love of unity is the philosophical principle at bottom of the rule. Now, shortly after monasticism had appeared in the West, Roman and every other form of unity had disappeared, at least in practice. England was a nation of free-booters. No such thing as a state can possibly be said to exist in France during the disturbed Merovingian period. In a word, the old unity had been replaced by the new element, out of which a new unity was struggling to emerge. Into this chaotic society the monastic life entered as the representative of the spirit of unity resident in the Church. Monasteries became so many fixed centres for colonization amidst transient populations, their organized unity under one rule was a living example to the body politic of what it also could be, the church congresses like that of Whitby and Hertford became the models of all future parliaments. England and France were churches before they were states and became states because they were churches, because through the monks they learned the value of unity. In this aspect Benedict becomes a greater law-giver than Justinian, because his rule and example inspires the virtues of obedience and self-restraint upon which all law is founded, without which law is impossible, which are the very essence of law.

(d) *The rule enjoined chastity.*—And herein lay Europe's moral regeneration, without which the rest were but words. The family became sanctified by the elevation of the female character in the person of the nun above the position of a mere pleasure-serving breeder of brawny warriors. The animal Saxon and Merovingian herein learned those habits of self-control and respect for one's own body which enter so largely into the preservation of peace between neighbors; their gross intellects hereby became purified, stripped, Psyche-like, of their flesh and fit for the perception of higher ideals, the Christian gentleman appeared. Chastity is peace, idealism, gentleness.

* * * * *

Such is a brief outline of the author's labor. It is to be re-

gretted that he has not thrown more order into otherwise valuable materials, because in an age when one must read whilst running, a good title, a well-placed marginal summary, a profuse scattering of dates, above all a certain philosophy of history clearly expressed by the arrangement of chapters, are not only useful aids, but often absolute necessities. These are, to some extent, wanting in the present work, which the reader will, in consequence, not find divisioned off, as in the preceding summary.

With these exceptions, the work contains most valuable materials, written in a pleasing style, often rising to eloquence, all the more wonderful for one who has long passed the limit usually set to man's vigor, but to whom can well be applied the remark of Athanasius upon Anthony: "Age did not subdue him."

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

Authenticity of the Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark's Gospel.

The material of a book in ancient times was usually a long, narrow strip of papyrus or parchment; one side only was used to write on. Each letter was written separately, and there were no marks to show the division between words or sentences. When the work was to be laid aside an end of the strip was fastened to a short stick and rolled upon it like a window curtain. On account of the slowness of transcribing by hand the number of copies was generally small. Parchment is a lasting substance, but papyrus is easily broken. Hence if an accident should happen, and there were no complete copy on hand from which to fill up the gap, a transcriber using this roll as an exemplar would transmit the work in a fragmentary condition. Probably this is the cause of the gap that is found in Cicero's speech in defense of Roscius Amerinus. For papyrus was cheaper than parchment, and therefore likely to have been more generally used. A papyrus-roll containing some writings of one of Cicero's teachers has been found among the ruins of Pompeii, and St. Augustine in one of his letters excuses himself for writing on parchment, saying that he had no papyrus. (Aug. Epist. 15.)

On account of its cheapness alone, if for no other reason, it is probable that many of the books of the New Testament were first written on papyrus rolls. Their authors in writing did not have posterity much in view; we know that some of them wrote only at the instance of their converts. Considering, then, the danger of accidents to manuscripts, the many mistakes to which copying by hand gives rise, and the fact that the transcribers were at times men who did not understand the necessity of correct copying, as well as the numerous difficulties under which they labored, it is not surprising that all the MSS. of the New Testament in existence to-day show many deviations from the original both in words and in sense. There is not one of them that does not contain many mistakes, and hence it is necessary to compare many of them before an approach can be made to the autograph. When this is done the mistakes which transcribers were liable to make can often be seen. The errors

of one are compared with those of another, and from this comparative study certain rules or principles can be deducted which will help to determine which MS., if any, has preserved the true reading. If after this comparison discrepancies cannot be explained they must have had a source other than incorrect transcription. For instance, the last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel are omitted in many MSS. of different ages, lands, and parentage. There is no reason for a transcriber to omit such a large passage. If it were possible that one should forget to copy these verses it is not possible that the same forgetfulness would take hold of many just at this same place. Nor is it probable that through carelessness several copyists would omit them, for the verses contain much important matter and all understood the language at the time when the supposed omission occurred. They were Christians and could not be indifferent to a passage that narrates the Resurrection and Ascension of the Lord, His sitting at the right hand of the Father, the command that He gave his disciples to go into the whole world and preach the Gospel to all mankind, the signs and wonders that followed that preaching, and the success that it had among men. If many copyists really omitted this passage through forgetfulness or carelessness it is certainly the strangest fact in the early history of the Church. The explanation, then, of its omission must be sought for at a time when few copies of the Gospel were in existence; but as few documents of that early time bearing on the subject have come down to us, the conclusions of those of a later date must serve as a foundation on which a probable state of things in the first century may be constructed.

The passage contained in Mark XVI, 9-20, is omitted in the two oldest and most accurate codices of the New Testament, the Vatican "B" and the Sinaitic "A" (Aleph). These were written in the first half of the fourth century, but to account for their agreements and their differences their common ancestor must be supposed to have been a very correct manuscript of the second century. By no means can it be imagined that this supposed parent of "A" and "B" was the original copy of the Gospels. All were probably transcribed many times before they were collected into a volume in any one place, and besides the writers of the second century did not much regard verbal accuracy. It is no rare thing to find contemporary writers—even the same writer—quoting the same verse in different ways. It

was omitted in the larger number of MSS. known to Eusebius and St. Jerome (Hier. Ep. ad Hedibiam, No. 120, Ed. Migne). Codex Regius, 'L,' finishes XVI-8 just at the end of a column, the space remaining being filled up by some pen ornaments. At the top of the next column the following note is inserted: "These things are also found somewhere" (*φέρετε πῶς καὶ ταῦτα*). The note is surrounded by ornamental lines like the cartouche containing the names of kings on the Egyptian monuments. Then follows the text, "But they announced briefly what they were commanded, to those about Peter; and after these things Jesus himself sent forth through them from the East, even to the West, the pure and holy preaching of eternal salvation."* Then comes another note, "But these things are also found after; for they feared" (*ἔστη δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φερόμενα μετὰ τὸ ἐφυβούντο γὰρ*); after which he inserts our present twelve verses. This scribe was evidently in doubt which ending, if either, was the true one, so he inserted both. The fact that he leaves a line and a half vacant at the end of the column after XVI, 8, and fills up the space with ornaments, might suggest that he debated whether or not he should stop at that point; but as this codex closely follows the text of "B" it is doubtful whether they are independent witnesses or not. It is, however, very probable that the exemplar from which "L" was copied contained only the short conclusion, or else it is a perfect copy of the exemplar. For at the time when "L" was written—about the tenth century—the short conclusion was almost forgotten. At any rate the scribe would not have inserted it had he not found it in his exemplar. Codex "K," a cursive Latin manuscript known to contain the old Latin version from its remarkable agreements with the quotations found in St. Cyprian, has a careless rendering of the short conclusion given above, which it inserts continuously after V. 8 of Chap. 16, without note of any kind. It has not our last twelve verses at all. They are omitted, besides in two Ethiopic and six or seven Armenian codices, as well as in an Arabic Lectionary of the ninth century. As it is evident from the very reading that the short conclusion would never have been inserted unless our present

* Πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξηγήειλαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν το ἱερὸν καὶ ἀφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας.

conclusion was wanting, it is a fair inference that the passage in question was not contained in the Greek manuscripts from which these versions were made; and if we place the date of the old Latin version at about A. D. 150, which is certainly not too early, it follows that the passage was omitted in some Greek manuscripts of the second century. Codd. No. 15 and No. 22 stop at XVI-8, and then add in red ink, "in many those things are also current" (*ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φέρεται*), after which they affix verses 9-20. Some Armenian codices which contain the passage write, "Gospel according to St. Mark," both after verse 8 and verse 20.

This passage is not found in the writings of Eusebius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lucifer of Cagliari, Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Cyril of Alexandria. Negative evidence is very uncertain and must be carefully sifted in order to be made reliable. Many of those Fathers did not have occasion to use the passage, and hence nothing can be concluded from their silence. St. Cyril of Jerusalem once passes over in silence a quotation from the passage by Nestorius, which it is unlikely he would have done had he not regarded it as Scripture. He would never have lost the opportunity of bringing his opponent to book for quoting false Scripture. The silence of Eusebius, Tertullian, and Cyril of Jerusalem cannot be so easily explained.¹

In the fourth century our Bible was not divided into chapters and verses as at present, but the text was written continuously throughout. To supply the defect Eusebius divided off the text of the New Testament into sections or paragraphs, marking each section by a letter of the Greek alphabet. These sections cease to be marked after Mark XVI-8, in N, A, L, S, U, and also in ten cursives. It is easier to account for the absence of the notation in these MSS. by supposing that they were afterwards added than by supposing that Eusebius included the twelve verses in his numeration, and that they were afterwards omitted by the copyists. To this may be added a reply to a question by Marinus, one of his correspondents. He says: "One man will reject this passage (Mark XVI, 9-20), saying it is not current in all the copies—that is, the accurate (*τὰ ἀκριβή*) copies and the narrative

¹ The manuscript recently discovered by Mrs. Lewis at the monastery of Mt. Sinai does not contain these verses. Its exact age and value are yet under discussion.—EDITOR.

of Mark at the words of the young man; another, not daring to reject anything found in the Scriptures of the Gospels, will say, etc." From this it appears that Eusebius was inclined rather to reject than to retain the passage, for the reason that it was not found in what he regarded as the accurate copies.

No quotation from the passage is found in the numerous writings of Tertullian. This is very remarkable in one who has quoted from almost every chapter of the Gospels. He has written a work on the necessity of Baptism, where the verse, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," would have been the strongest proof of his doctrine. Yet he does not use it, but instead adduces all possible and impossible arguments from the Old Testament, employing such texts as Gen. I, 2, There is one passage where he might be expected to have quoted the verse given above had he known of its existence. "Adeo, dicunt, Baptismus non est necessarius, quibus fides satis est, nam et nullius aquae nisi fidei sacramento Deo placuit. Fuerit salus retro per fidem nudam ante Domini passionem et Resurrectionem. At ubi fides aucta est credenti in resurrectionem ejus, addita est ampliatio sacramento, obsignatio baptismi vestimentum fidei, quae retro erat nuda, nec potentiam habuit sine sua lege. Lex enim tinguendi imposita est, et forma praescripta. Ite inquit docete nationes, tinguentes eas in nomine Patris, etc." Then he quotes John III., 5, and proceeds, "Itaque omnes credentes tingebantur. Tunc et Paulus ubi credidit tinctus est." Then as if direct proofs failed him, he resorts to inferences. "Et hoc est quod Dominus in illa plaga orbationis praeceperat, exurge, dicens, introi Damascum, illic tibi demonstrabitur quid deabeas agere, scilicet tingui, quod solam ei deerat. Alioquin satis crediderat Dominum esse Dei Filium." (De Bapt. XIII.). Here Tertullian and Codex mutually support each other. From their united testimony it is extremely difficult to resist the conclusion that this passage was not known either to Tertullian or to the Christian society in which he moved, and consequently, that it was not current in North Africa in his time. The same argument can be drawn from the silence of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. He treats of the same subjects as does this passage, yet he never quotes it. Hence, if he knew of its existence, he did not regard it as Scripture.

Whether the facts disclosed by the style and vocabulary of the passage add anything one way or the other to the force of the argument, they are certainly interesting enough to be worthy

of remark. First of all, there is no connection between XVI., 9, and the preceding verse. The subject of ἐφάνη in verse 9, is, of course, understood to be ὁ Ἰησοῦς, yet it is not expressed in any of the foregoing verses of the chapter. To find a sentence of which ὁ Ἰησοῦς is the subject we must go back to XV., 38; then all the intervening verses would be in the nature of a parenthesis. Hence, it is inferred, since St. Mark never hesitates to repeat his subject, and is, moreover, very sparing in the use of pronouns, that there was a verse between XVI., 8, and XVI., 9, wherein the subject was expressed. Then it says: "He appeared to Mary Magdalene out of whom he had cast seven devils," which seems as if the author had mentioned her here for the first time, whereas she is named as a well-known personage in the two preceding chapters. Πρώτη Σαββάτου means the first day of the week in XVI., 9; but in XVI., 2, the phrase μιὰ τῶν Σαββάτων is used in the same sense. περιεῖμαι is here used three times; in the rest of the Gospel the equivalent term is always ἐπάγειν. θεωροῦμαι is used twice; in the rest of the Gospel the equivalent is always ὁράω. But the most interesting difference between the language of the passage and that of the rest of the Gospel is the use of the word ὁ χρίστος as a proper name of Christ. In the Greek translation of the Old Testament this word appears hundreds of times as a proper name of the Deity, usually as the equivalent of the Hebrew Jehovah. It is employed in the same way throughout the New Testament, especially in quotations from the Old. It is used as a proper name of Christ in St. Paul's Epistles, St. Luke, Acts, and in the passage under discussion, while the word is not found at all in this latter sense in the rest of Mark's Gospel. The same holds for Matthew, except XXVIII., 6, and for John, except VI., 23. This use of the same word as a proper name of the Deity and also of Jesus Christ became a source of confusion, hence we see the Apostolic Fathers, SS. Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas, apply the term exclusively in the latter signification. To any one considering these differences of language it will appear improbable that ch. XVI., 1-8 was ever written by the same man on the same day with the rest of the chapter; for an author does not usually change his style all at once. To account for the fact that the trend of thought is lost after XVI., 8, it must be supposed that the rest of the chapter was not written until some time afterwards.

The amount of evidence that can be brought to prove the authenticity of the passage is both large in quantity and excellent in quality. It is found in all the uncial and cursive MSS. in existence, except those already named above. It is also explicitly quoted by St. Irenaeus, about A. D. 180 (Adv. Her. III., 10). It formed part of the old Syriac translation made, at the latest, about 150 A. D. It is quoted by Aphraates, a Syriac writer about A. D. 300; by Nestorius, Ambrose, Augustine, and later writers generally; and to these must be added the evidence of almost all known Gospel lectionaries. This last is important as showing the mind of the Church. There is nothing to be said against this evidence. Westcott and Hort consider it sufficient to prove the authenticity of the passage if the internal evidence of the passage itself were not so strong.

The same cannot be said regarding the negative evidence in the case. Much of it melts away upon closer examination. The scribe of "B" finishes XVI, 8, at the words, ἐφασκεῖντο γάρ, and leaves blank the rest of the column and the whole of the next column. Such a thing is done nowhere else in the whole MSS. of 700 pages. He was evidently in doubt whether or not he should insert XVI., 9 to 20, but finally he made up his mind that neither by him nor by any one else should the passage be inserted. At the end of XVI., 8, he draws a lot of unmeaning pen-strokes and then almost fills up the rest of the column with the words τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον. Six leaves, containing the last chapters of Mark and the first of Luke, are torn out of Codex Sinaiticus, and six others having the writing spread out, are inserted in their place. Tischendorf has no doubt but that this was done by the same scribe that wrote "B." The characteristic spelling and letter-forms of "B" are reproduced in these six substituted leaves of "A" with remarkable fidelity. Of course, no one who has not made a study of ancient writing can be a judge in this matter. One thing, however, is certain; if those six leaves were written on as closely as the rest of "A" there would be room for the insertion of the passage. From this fact it is clear that the writer was biassed by some pre-formed theory, and hence, it is impossible to judge whether or not he faithfully transcribed the text before him. If he did not, it is likely as not that the second century ancestor of "B" and "A" contained the passage. "L" and No. 22 also show that they know of its existence but were doubtful of its genuineness. "K" alone,

of all existing authorities, seems to be unaware of its existence.

If the internal evidence did not give some color to the MSS. the case would be closed. "B" and "A" are doubtful, "L" is not an independent witness, being very probably a descendant of "B;" "K" proves, in conjunction with the evidence of Tertullian, that the Greek copies, from which the Latin was translated, did not have the passage. But the witness of Irenaeus and the old Syriac shows that about A. D. 150, it was current in two important centres of Christianity—Asia Minor and Syria. If these were lost, many who now, on account of their evidence admit the genuineness of the passage, would be inclined to reject it. Perhaps some writing may yet be discovered which will throw light on the case. One should, therefore, be guarded in drawing conclusions from the mere want of evidence. History would be turned upside down if every bit of writing that did not have a sufficient amount of judicial evidence to authenticate it, were on that account be rejected. The law does not force payment of long-standing debts, because after a lapse of time proof of liquidation becomes difficult. There is, or there ought to be, also a rule of prescription in literature,—not that everything coming down to us from antiquity must be accepted without question, but that it should not be rejected solely because the testimonials of its legitimacy are not forthcoming. The internal evidence, no doubt, may cause misgivings, but there is nothing which would forbid us attributing the authorship of the passage to St. Mark himself. If polygamy were taught in it, or it were declared that Moab and Ammon would meet a speedy destruction, it would be evident at once that he was not the author, but the anxiety he shows throughout the rest of the Gospel to emphasize the power of our Lord over the demons, and the slowness of belief manifested by the disciples, crop up strangely enough in these few verses. A man's style and vocabulary change with his larger acquisition of knowledge; the fixed idea and the settled conviction of many years seldom or never change, especially in old men. Notice how the ideas of the fourth Gospel persistently appear in the first Epist. of St. John.

At all events, it is certain that something disturbed the text of St. Mark at XVI-8 before A. D. 150. All admit that he never intended to finish his work with the word "*γάρ*," "leaving the narrative hang in the air." It is equally clear that the passage was not interpolated by a scribe, who wished to supply a fitting

close. The short conclusion of "K" shows what one attempting such a task would be likely to accomplish. He would have tried to connect verses 8 and 9, and then wound up with some vague sentence. It is altogether too vivid and too full of details to be from such a source.

Two theories, then, remain, either of which will account for the state of the text. The first is that St. Mark was prevented by death, exile, or imprisonment from finishing his work, or if he did finish it, the last leaf of papyrus on which he wrote was lost, and one of his friends added a part of another narrative to XVI.-8, and thus supplied a fitting ending. The abrupt ending of verse 8, the startling commencement of verse 9, and the different tone assumed all at once by the narrative, so that the characters appear to be a new company performing in the background, gives the passage the appearance of being a part of another narrative; but care must be taken not to substitute tastes and impressions for facts. The other theory is that St. Mark was obliged to stop at verse 8, and was unable, for some months, to resume the work. In the meantime, he lost the trend of thought, and, consequently, changed somewhat his vocabulary. This would account for the change of vocabulary and the want of connection between verses 8 and 9, but it does not so well explain how a copy incomplete just at that point came into circulation. Was the passage written on the last leaf of the manuscripts and was it lost in transmission to some distant church? It may have happened thus, or in any one of a hundred other different ways. Neither of these may be the true explanation. Perhaps one may yet be found in some still undiscovered document, but there is sufficient evidence to justify the conclusion that the passage is a document as ancient as the rest of the Gospel, and the evidence is not strong enough to compel us to ascribe it to any other than to St. Mark himself.

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St. Paul, Minn.*

Dom Gasquet's Edition of Cobbett's Reformation.¹

Cobbett's History of the Protestant Reformation has long been one of the stock ornaments of every household library among English-speaking Catholics. It appeared when the agitation for Catholic Emancipation in the British Isles was nearing its acme, and it ranked at once as a formula of historical faith for the struggling Catholics, and the most virulent of historical pamphlets for the extreme Protestant majority. Like Moore's "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion," it was intensely personal, and aimed at the utter overthrow of the idealized story of the Reformation as it had come to be accepted by the average English thinker. The book first appeared in the form of letters, and it bears yet the rather disjointed look which is the natural result of that form of composition. Cobbett was a reformer. It was the period of the Chartist agitations and the reform of the Corn Laws. In those days agricultural distress bore heavily on the laborers of England, and the bold and original idea of charging it eventually to the change of religion was one sure of eager consideration by friend and foe. The book had a European success, and yet does yeoman service in the heat of religious controversy. Happily, those controversies have become less fierce and perilous. It may be that on the other side the diminution of Christian faith has something to do with it; it may be that the gradual welding of the immense English-speaking world into one great politico-social family is an element not to be forgotten. Certain it is that the lines of Prudentius, anent the wonderful *civilitas* that Rome had created out of the political wreckage of the East and the West, are true of the irresistible process of assimilation that is going on in the English-speaking world:

Vivitur omnigenis in partibus haud secus ac si
Clives congenitos concludat moenibus unis
Urbs patria . . . Nam sanguine mixto
Textitur alternis ex gentibus una propago.

¹A History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland, written in 1824-1827, by William Cobbett. A new edition, revised, with notes and preface by Francis Aidan Gasquet, D. D., O. S. B. New York: Benziger Bros., 1896.

Perhaps it is the consciousness of this that has tempted Dom Gasquet to reëdit the work of Cobbett, that we may see clearly the true origin of the sad cleft that divides in religion races and peoples evidently called to a preponderating rôle in the affairs of humankind. Economical studies of a political and social character have gone far in late years to confirm Cobbett's views of the causes and effects of the English Reformation, and in the notes to this edition Dom Gasquet has embodied some useful results of this class of writings. Besides the citations from older writers like Foxe, Heylyn, Collier, Burnet, and Sanders, from Hallam, Macaulay, and Hume, there are to be met with notes from the English State Papers, the publications of the Parker and Camden societies, the Douay Diaries, and his own classic books on "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," and "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer." This edition, moreover, has a special value derived from the preface, in which Dom Gasquet has worked up some results of the scholarly researches of men like Thorold Rogers, Ashley, and others into the economic conditions of English life in the fifteenth century. Our readers will not regret the reprinting of a considerable portion of this preface:

"The fact," says Dom Gasquet, "that Cobbett has relied in the main upon so careful and, as is very generally allowed, so exact, calm, and judicial a writer of history as Dr. Lingard, will probably be sufficient to clear him in the opinion of most people from the reputation of being 'a reckless perverter of facts,' and his general history from the charge of being 'a mere tissue of lies.' The chief value of 'The History of the Protestant Reformation' would seem, however, to lie, not in the actual accuracy of this or that fact, but in the general impression made upon the mind of the reader. The author's vigorous and graphic style presents a real picture of the results, so far as the people of England as a whole are concerned, of the revolution social as well as religious which is known as the Protestant Reformation. The genius of Cobbett instinctively realized that the religious changes in England in the sixteenth century, if not actually promoted by those in power for their own purposes, had certainly resulted in benefiting the rich to the detriment of their poorer brethren. In fact, wholly apart from the religious side of the question, or from any advantages which may be thought to have been secured by the triumph of Protestantism, the price paid for the change by the lower classes must in fairness be estimated as very considerable. Viewed merely in its social aspect, the English Reformation was in reality the rising of the rich against the poor. In the general upheaval which accompanied the labors of the reformers to root up Catholicism from the soil of England, most of those in place and power were enabled to grow greater in wealth and position, whilst those who had before but a small share in the good things of this world came in the process to have less. Their condition under the new order was visibly

harder, till as a natural result of their misery there came forth many of the social sores which afflict society to the present day. What Cobbett's 'History of the Protestant Reformation' chiefly displays, then, is this aspect of the religious changes in the sixteenth century. His pages help us to realize the fact that the Reformation effected, besides a change in religious beliefs and practices, a wide and permanent division in the great body politic. The supposed purification of doctrine and practice was brought about only at the cost of, as it were, driving a wedge well into the heart of the nation, which at once and for all divided the rich from the poor, and established the distinction which still exists between the classes and the masses."

The Bishop of Oxford is good authority on the mediæval life of England; hence, a paragraph taken from the third volume of his "Constitutional History of England," is worth pondering on in these days of deep social unrest:

"Speaking of the condition of the poor in the middle ages, Bishop Stubbs declares that 'there is very little evidence to show that our forefathers, in the middle ranks of life, desired to set any impassable boundary between class and class. The great barons would probably at any period have shown disinclination to admit new men on terms of equality to their own order; but this disinclination was overborne by the royal policy of promoting useful servants, and the country knight was always regarded as a member of the noble class, and his position was continually strengthened by intermarriage with the baronage. The city magnate again formed a link between the country squire, and the tradesman and the yeoman were in position and in blood close akin. Even the villein might by learning a craft set his foot on the ladder of promotion; but the most certain way to rise was furnished by education, and by the law of the land 'every man or woman, of what state or condition that he be, shall be free to set their son or daughter to take learning at any school that pleaseth them within the realm.'"

That the suppression of the religious houses brought about a great increase of poverty and a corresponding growth of private fortunes was long since demonstrated by Burke, Freeman, and other writers. Dom Gasquet devotes to this theme a page, and not the least striking one, of his preface:

"It is obvious that the various measures which formed integral portions of the great scheme of the Reformation, although not ostensibly aimed at breaking up the essential unity of a Christian kingdom governed on Catholic principles, in reality had that effect. The dissolution of the monastic houses, the confiscation of the property of the guilds, hospitals, and almshouses, and even the introduction of a married clergy, were all calculated to injure the poor and deprive them of their inheritance, or what by immemorial custom they had come to regard as such. In particular the possessions of the monastic houses are popularly understood to be, as an old writer expresses it, 'oblations to the Lord,' and 'the patrimony of the poor, to be bestowed accordingly.' In them the monks 'made such provision daily for the people that stood in need thereof, as sick, sore, lame, or otherwise impotent, that

none or very few lacked relief in one place or another.' And although it may be questioned whether the time-honored methods of dealing with poverty would have stood the test of greatly increased demands, still it is a matter of history that the dissolution of the monastic houses did in fact immediately produce overwhelming poverty and distress, which at once necessitated legislation as novel as it was harsh, and further, that the condition of pauperism as distinguished from that of poverty may certainly be traced for its origin to that event. That it could not fail to impoverish a large portion of the people must be obvious to anyone acquainted with the circumstances of the case; and whatever view may be taken as to the utility of monastic observances or of the advisability of the extensive charities distributed by the religious houses, it is obvious that no benefit to the poorer part of the population of the country could possibly result from stopping the flow of charity altogether, by confiscating the revenues of the monasteries and dividing them among the favorites of the crown, or lightening the burdens of the rich by applying them to the relief of general taxation. The old writer before quoted, speaking at the close of the sixteenth century, when the results of the policy of destruction were manifest, points out how by means of the property filched from the poor, the rich had mounted to place and power, whilst the former, deprived of their protectors and inheritance, had sunk deeper into the hopeless slough of pauperism. The suppressions 'made of yeomen and artificers gentlemen, and of gentlemen knights, and so forth upward, and of the poorest sort stark beggars.'

"It seems quite clear that not only were the results of the suppression of the religious houses at once manifest in the wide increase of poverty, but it was, even at the time, ascribed to this cause. An old document, certainly written before the close of the reign of Henry VIII. by one favorable to the religious changes, makes it clear that this was the popular opinion. 'The priests,' he writes, 'mark such universal extremity and increase of misery, poverty, dearth, beggars, thieves, and vagabonds, that it is hardly now possible to longer bear it,' and when asked the cause for all this they reply, 'What marvel is it, though we have no money, how many thousand pounds a year go to London for the rents of abbey lands, for first fruits, for tenths, &c., besides the innumerable treasure that hath come to the King's Highness by the purchase of the plate and implements of the same houses, all of which heretofore was wont to be spent here in the country for victuals amongst us. Surely, surely, good neighbors, we have never had a merry nor wealthy world since abbeys were put down and this new learning brought in place.'"

The Catholic doctrine of wealth as a trust from God, our Common Father, to be executed by the rich in favor of their poor or helpless brethren,—the doctrine which the great and brave Cappadocians preached before an angry and protesting aristocracy,—was the doctrine that justified and excused the monastic wealth of England. It would be difficult to put the theory of the Church possessions of the Middle Ages more clearly than in the following paragraph:

"It is necessary only to point to the case of the great alienation of tithes from all religious purposes at the time of the suppression of the religious

houses to call attention to one obvious way in which the poor were deprived of their natural rights. A very large portion of the parochial tithes had been in the course of ages appropriated, as it is called, to some one or other religious house. Without defending the practice, which is obviously open to great abuses, the religious houses receiving such tithes were of course bound, and did in fact fulfil the obligation, to provide for the spiritual necessities of the parishes so appropriated to them, and to act as almoners for that portion of the tithes which custom and law had assigned for the assistance of the needy. From the earliest days of English Christianity the care of the helpless poor was regarded as a religious obligation. 'S. Gregory, in his instructions to S. Augustine,' writes Bishop Stubbs, 'had reminded him of the duty of a bishop to set apart for the poor a fourth part of the income of his church; and in 1342 Archbishop Stratford ordered that in all cases of appropriation a portion of the tithe should be set apart for the relief of the poor. The legislation of the witenagemotes of Ethelred bore the same mark—a third portion of the tithe that belonged to the Church was to go to God's poor; it was enjoined on all God's servants that they should comfort and feed the poor. Even in the reign of Henry I. the king was declared to be the kinsman and advocate of the poor.'

"By the suppression of the religious houses and by the subsequent religious changes, the poor came to have a less acknowledged right to a share in the Church revenues. The tithes which had been appropriated to the monastic establishments were treated like the rest of the ordinary lands and revenues, and being granted away by the king passed altogether into lay hands, without regard to the obligation of contributing out of them the portion intended for the support of the poor. The result was that the new possessors of tithes 'which belonged to vicarages' did not 'think they were more bound to contribute on this account more to the poor than others,' and thus these poor were, and in fact still are, deprived of their share in the tithes which had been appropriated to the monastic houses and were confiscated by Henry VIII. At a somewhat later period the introduction of marriage for the parochial clergy obviously still further diminished the portion of tithe coming to the poor, since the clergyman, having to support a family out of his dues, had less to spare for those of his parishioners whose wants had been supplied previously, in some measure at least, out of these."

In imitation of the monastic brotherhoods, and moved by the same conception of the duties of wealth, the great guilds or voluntary associations of tradesmen looked on the alleviation of poverty as a part of their corporate duties, and no small proportion of the guild-wealth had been bequeathed to them as *cestui que trusts* for the poor of England. That the state did not take over this moral obligation, nor provide for its fulfilment, is written on every page of England's economic and institutional history in the sixteenth century:

"A still more glaring and, if possible, more unjustifiable instance of the way in which during the period of religious changes in England no respect

was paid to the rights of the poor may be seen in the confiscation of the property of the guilds, contemplated under Henry VIII. and carried into effect in the first days of Edward VI. Whatever may have been the special objects to promote which these voluntary societies were founded, whether for trade, social, or religious purposes, they all made the performance of the Christian duty of charity to the poor a necessary part of their regular work. 'In the frith-guild of London,' writes Bishop Stubbs, 'the remains of the feasts were dealt to the needy for the love of God; the maintenance of the poorer members of the craft was, as in the friendly societies of our own time, one main object in the institution of the craft guilds; and even those later religious guilds, in which the chief object seems at first sight, as in much of the charitable machinery of the present day, to have been the acting of mysteries and the exhibition of pageants, were organized for the relief of distress as well as for conjoint and mutual prayer. It was with this idea that men gave large estates in land to the guilds, which down to the Reformation formed an organized administration of relief.' The same weighty writer then goes on to declare that 'the confiscation of the guild property, together with that of the hospitals, was one of the great wrongs which were perpetrated under Edward VI., and, whatever may have been the results of the stoppage of monastic charity, was one unquestionable cause of the growth of town pauperism.'

"Whilst fully allowing that by the seizure of the property of the guilds a grave injustice was perpetrated on those for whom the charities disbursed by them were intended, few writers have yet realised how deliberate that act of injustice really was. It is often stated that the charitable funds were not to be distinguished from the revenues appropriated for religious rites for masses for the dead, &c., which were, on the assured ascendancy of the Protestant principles of the Reformation, declared to be superstitious practices; and unfortunately, whilst confiscating the property intended for the support of ceremonies now declared illegal, the state unwittingly swept into the public coffers that intended for the poor. However gladly one would believe this to have been the actual state of the case, original documents in the Record Office prove that the plunder of the poor by those in power was a deliberate and premeditated act. In many instances the report of the commissioners sent to inquire into the possessions of the guilds show that they fully noted and proposed to exempt from confiscation all portions of the corporate property of any guild charged with payment in behalf of the poor. In every instance where such a proposal was made, the crown official through whose hands the report has passed has drawn his pen through this humane recommendation, and intimated that the crown, not recognising any such right on the part of the poor, would take possession of the entire property."

Education is the noblest object for the exercise of charity. The poverty of the mind is infinitely more hideous than that of the body, and its consequences infinitely more disastrous. Catholic England had provided more nobly, perhaps, than any mediæval state for the endowment of learning; indeed, only in Oxford and Cambridge has the mediæval university survived; and what scholar's heart does not swell with pride when he con-

templates their solidity, their dignified independence, their great wealth, their wise, temperate conservatism! Dom Gasquet consecrates to the schools of England the following paragraph, which might well be read in connection with the considerations of Janssen in the seventh volume of his "History of the German People:"

"A no less real, though perhaps less obvious, injustice was done to the poorer portion of the population at the time of the religious changes in England by the destruction of schools and colleges, and the gradual alienation of funds intended for the purpose of supplying education to those who could not otherwise obtain it, to assist in educating the children of those whose circumstances would fully enable them to support that burden. For a time most of the schools were closed, without any provision being made for carrying on the education hitherto given in the monastic houses. In the universities the results were immediately felt. At Cambridge it was feared that the destruction of the religious houses, which had hitherto prepared students for their college course and supported poor scholars during their training, would annihilate learning altogether. At Oxford, although the beneficed clergy were enjoined to find 'an exhibition to maintain one scholar or more,' the result was as obvious as in the sister university, for from the first the injunction had no more effect than that laid on the new owners of monastic property to maintain the united hospitality of the dispossessed monks. Deprived of the assistance necessary to enable them to obtain the first beginnings of an education, and thus to set their feet upon the first rung of the ladder which in the middle ages had raised so many from a state of poverty to place and power, the poor were unable to claim even their share in the emoluments with which the piety of our English forefathers had endowed the colleges and halls of the universities, and which were chiefly intended for the poorer portions of the population.

"Latimer loudly lamented the changed circumstances so far as this was concerned. 'In those days,' he says, looking back to the time before suppression of the monastic houses, 'what did they when they helped the scholars? Marry! they maintained and gave them livings that were very papists and professed the Pope's doctrine; and now that the knowledge of God's Word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them.' And again, 'truly it is a pitiful thing to see schools so neglected; every Christian ought to lament the same. . . . Schools are not maintained, scholars have no exhibitions. Very few there be that help poor scholars.' Here again, in the matter of education, it was the poor who were called upon to pay the price for the religious changes of the sixteenth century."

Previous to the discovery of America, the opening of the silver mines of the New World, and the consequent incredible extension of commerce, land was the sole source of revenue, the sole great element of wealth. At the English Reformation tremendous disturbances in its possession and administration took

place, whose effects were long felt by the peasantry—indeed, are yet operative in England :

“ To turn to another and even larger question. The dissolution of the monasteries and the confiscation of the property of the chantries and guilds resulted in the transfer of a large amount of land into the hands of new proprietors. Possibly the extent of territory which thus changed hands was above rather than under 2,000,000 acres. The mere change of ownership was little compared with the result to the poorer tenants of the estates, for the royal policy in parcelling the confiscated lands among his needy courtiers was to create a monopoly in land. As the new possessors had frequently paid large sums for their grants their own interest prompted them to make the most of their purchases, which they did by raising the rents paid by the farmers and encroaching upon what had hitherto been regarded as common rights. It is very generally allowed that the old monastic and religious corporations were easy landlords. Not being subject to demise, such bodies, continuing to dwell in the midst of their tenants, dealt with them according to immemorial custom. It is custom, as Mill points out, especially in regard to rent, which ‘ is the most powerful protector of the weak against the strong, their sole protector where there are no laws or government adequate to the purpose.’ In the change of ownership effected during the religious revolution of the sixteenth century no respect whatever was paid to custom. That barrier ‘ which even in the most oppressed condition of mankind,’ in the opinion of the philosopher, ‘ tyranny is forced in some degree to respect’ was thrown down, and the weak were left in the power of the strong.

“ The enclosure of the common lands, and the consequent injustice done to those who from time immemorial had been possessed of common rights, is well recognised as an immediate result of the change in ownership at this period. So, too, is the rack-renting to which the new possessors had recourse in order to make the most of their grants or purchases. The absolute change of tenure, which appears in certain instances, may be illustrated from the *Durham Halmote Rolls* published by the Surtees Society. ‘ It is hardly a figure of speech,’ writes Mr. Booth in the preface to this volume, ‘ to say we have (in these rolls) village life photographed. The dry record of tenures is peopled by men and women who occupied them, whose acquaintance we make in these records under the various phases of village life. We see them in their tofts surrounded by their crofts, with their gardens of pot-herbs. We see how they ordered the affairs of the village, when summoned by the baliff to the vill to consider matters which affected the common weal of the community. We hear of their trespasses and wrongdoings, and how they were remedied or punished ; of their strifes and contentions, and how they were repressed ; of their attempts, not always ineffective, to grasp the principle of co-operation, as shown by their by-laws ; of their relations with the Prior, who represented the convent and alone stood in relation of lord. He appears always to have dealt with his tenants, either in person or through his officers, with much consideration ; and in the imposition of fines we find them invariably tempering justice with mercy.’

“ In fact, as the picture of mediæval village life among the tenants of the Durham monastery is displayed in the pages of this interesting volume, it

would seem almost as if one was reading of some Utopia of dreamland. Many of the things that in these days advanced politicians would desire to see introduced into the village communities of modern England, to relieve the deadly dulness of country life, were seen in Durham and Cumberland in full working order in pre-Reformation days. Local provisions for public health and general convenience are evidenced by the watchful vigilance of the village officials over the water supplies, the care taken to prevent the fouling of useful streams, and stringent by-laws as to the common place for clothes washing and the times for emptying and cleansing ponds and mill dams. Labor was lightened and the burdens of life eased by co-operation on an extensive scale. A common mill ground the corn, and the flour was baked into bread at a common oven. A common smith worked at a common forge, and common shepherds and herdsmen watched the sheep and cattle of various tenants when pastured on the fields common to the whole village community. The pages of the volume contain numerous instances of the kindly consideration for their tenants which characterized the monastic proprietors, and the relation between them was rather that of rent-charges than of absolute ownership. In fact, as the editor of the volume says, 'Notwithstanding the rents, duties, and services, and the fine paid on entering the inferior tenants of the Prior had a beneficial interest in their holdings, which gave rise to a recognised system of tenant-right, which we may see growing into a customary right, the only limitation of the tenant-right being inability, from poverty or other cause to pay rent or perform the accustomed services.'

Among other things, Dom Gasquet has also a word to say concerning the local provisions for public health and general convenience, which are to be met with in the archives of the ancient abbeys or religious houses:

"When the monastery of Durham was suppressed and its place taken by a dean and chapter, it was by the middle of Elizabeth's reign, found that the change was gravely detrimental to the interests of the tenants, and that the new body soon made it plain that they had no intention of respecting prescriptive rights. This is made clear by a document printed in the same volume, about which the editor says: 'A review of the Halmote Rolls leaves no room for doubt that the tenants, other than those of the demesne lands, during the period covered by the text, had a recognized tenant-right in their holdings, which was ripening into a customary freehold estate; and we might have expected to find, in the vills or townships in which the dean and chapter possessed manorial rights, the natural outcome of this tenant-right in the existence of copyhold or customary freehold estates at the present time, as we find in the manors of the see of Durham. It is a well-known fact, however, that there are none. The reason is, that soon after the foundation of the cathedral body the dean and chapter refused to recognize a customary estate in their tenants.' "

It is not hard, therefore, to justify the general thesis of Cobbett, and these words of his Benedictine editor may be taken as

fixing for all time the historical worth of the great agitator's picture of the English Reformation :

"What happened at Durham may safely be taken as an example of the vast confiscation of prescriptive rights which at the time of the religious changes went on all over England. It was this side of the question which chiefly appealed to William Cobbett, and which he seeks to illustrate in his 'History of the Reformation.' He was not directly concerned with the change of religion as a religious question, but the object for which he used all the vigor of his powerful pen was to get Englishmen to realize the price the nation had been called upon to pay to secure those changes in faith and practice."

BOOK REVIEWS.

History.

Eglises Séparées, par l'Abbé Duchesne, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, 1896.
Albert Fontemoing, 8°, pp., VIII—353.

This is the first volume of a work entitled “Autonomies Ecclésiastiques.” The second volume, entitled “Églises Unies,” is in preparation, and the two form a study of the most authoritative kind on the great local (national or otherwise) church organizations of the Christian world.

In this book Duchesne relates the earliest history of the churches of England, the Greek Church, the Balkan churches, the churches of Abyssinia and Arabia, and the Church of Rome. Though popular in form, the work is done by the hand of a past master in the history of the first centuries of the Christian era. It is not often to-day that a French priest can write himself down a member of the Institute of France, but when he does so the world may well believe that he is easily the ablest in his line of intellectual work. For over thirty years the early history of the Roman Church has been the theme of Duchesne's indefatigable zeal, and the results of so much toil are now before the world in his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, a monument of the most delicate critical skill and of the most varied erudition. The restoration of its shattered text, the illustration of its almost uncontrollable statements in its earlier part, the construction of a general framework that would bring out in best relief its lights and shadows—all this has forced Duchesne to consult the original evidences of Christianity in all lands that ever, directly or indirectly, came under Roman influences, papal or imperial. Everyone who loves to know how the old-world churches grew from humble beginnings to their present condition ought to read the first chapter of the story in this work of Duchesne. He will admire the precision of style and the lucidity of statement which mark the master in any art, and he will enjoy the Gallic wit, the independence of opinion and appreciation which is never so valued as when it comes from one whom experience and talent have elevated to the judgment-seat that sciolists so often usurp.

Catalogue of Records of Territories and States (being No. 7 of the Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State. Sept., 1894). Washington, Department of State, 1895.

This latest number of the Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls, Department of State, opens with a list of such Territorial and State records as have been deposited in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, and therein classified as Chap. I. of the Manuscript Books and Papers. Thus, the Department of State contains the Russian archives of Alaska, the Spanish archives of Florida, Governor Claiborne's correspondence relative to Louisiana, and other valuable materials for the history of several States and Territories. Then follows a series of chapter headings (unfinished) recording the sections into which the papers of the Department of State are divided—records of the proceedings of (Continental) Congress, the Washington papers, the Constitution of the United States, with the journal of the Convention that framed it, etc. Here, too, are the papers and manuscripts of James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, James Monroe, and Benjamin Franklin, records of States and Territories, the acts and resolutions of Congress, with treaties between the United States and other powers, records of commissions established by treaty for the settlement of boundaries and international claims, letters of ceremony addressed to the Government of the United States on extraordinary occasions by the heads of foreign states, and the records of the War of 1812. The greater part of the volume is taken up with the text of the amendments to the Constitution and their ratifications or rejections by the several States.

Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Herbert B. Adams, Editor. Fourteenth series.

1. History of Taxation in Connecticut, 1636-1776, by Frederick Robertson Jones.
2. Study of Slavery in New Jersey, by Henry Seafeld Coaley. Nos. VIII, IX-X.

1. Mr. Jones distinguishes "four well-defined periods" in the financial history of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

I. The Colonial Period, 1636-1776. Distinguished by the simplicity of its system—a rural people with colonial and archaic institutions.

II. The Period of Industrial Growth, 1776-1818. Matters relating to taxation became more complex in consequence of

the growing industrial system, while the colonial system was continued.

III. The Period of Radical Change, 1818-1850. By the adoption of the constitution of 1818, property was taxed according to its selling value, and not, as formerly, according to its probable income.

IV. The Modern Period. Beginning with 1850, all property, unless especially exempted, was taxed and made ratable at 3 per cent. of its true value.

The first of these periods only is treated of in this monograph. Extending over nearly a century and a half it is longer than the three succeeding periods combined, but there is no break in the continuity of development of the system of taxation that would warrant a division of the period.

The earliest system of taxation established in Connecticut was merely a transplanting of the system to which the townspeople of the Connecticut towns had been accustomed in England, and later, in Massachusetts. But though the Connecticut system was founded upon that of Massachusetts, and both had borrowed their fundamental principles from England, the two systems developed along different lines, and eventually differed widely from each other.

The primary basis of taxation in Connecticut was land—rated not according to its selling value, but upon its probable net revenues. This principle, introduced as early as 1638, was in force during the entire colonial period, and even down to 1818.

Along with the land tax a property tax was levied, and for the purpose of lessening the tax upon land the scope of the property tax was gradually widened so as to include ultimately almost all objects of value.

In 1650 the principle of a poll tax was adopted, and "all male persons from sixteen years old and upwards were set in the list at two shillings six pence."

The more equitably to distribute the burden of the taxes, provision was made "for that class of laborers who, by the advantage of their trades, were better able to contribute to the expenses of the government than common laborers. They were rated according to their gains just as other men were for the probable income of their estates." "The compass of the tax gradually grew larger. October, 1737, attorneys-at-law were

listed for their 'faculty'—the least practitioners at £50, and others in proportion."

Mr. Jones proposes to enlarge his study and write the financial history of Connecticut during the four periods marked out above. This preliminary study is a careful and thorough one, and gives promise that the larger work will be of considerable value.

2. Preparatory to a comprehensive study of the development of slavery in the United States, the experience of the single commonwealths in which it existed needs to be investigated. Several of these preparatory investigations have already been undertaken, and their results have been published in these University studies. Following lines of investigation already opened, Mr. Coaley embraces in three chapters the results of his study into slavery in New Jersey:

I. The Increase and Decline of Slavery.

II. The Government of Slaves.

III. The Legal and Social Position of the Negro.

An early opposition to the institution of slavery developed itself in New Jersey. In 1769 a law was passed laying an import duty on slaves, and this was in a measure designed to act as a discouragement to the slave trade. "The preamble to the law of 1769 states that the act was passed because several of the neighboring colonies had found duties upon the importation of negroes to be beneficial in the introduction of sober, industrious foreigners as settlers and in promoting a spirit of industry among the inhabitants in general." The first opposition to slavery in the colony is apparently based on purely economic grounds. But it is probable that the passage of the law is also "due to the influence of the Friends, among whom a strong abolition movement had been going on." This abolition spirit found in New Jersey congenial soil. In 1733 "no less than eight petitions were presented to the Assembly from the inhabitants of six different counties, all setting forth the evils arising from human slavery, and praying for an alteration of the laws on the subject."

In 1778 Governor Livingston is persuaded, in consideration of the critical condition at that time, to withdraw from the Assembly a bill providing for the manumission of slaves. "The

Governor reluctantly consented, yet, at the same time, stating that he was determined, as far as his influence extended, 'to push the matter till it is effected, being convinced that the practice is utterly inconsistent with the principles of Christianity and humanity, and in Americans, who have almost idolized liberty, peculiarly odious and disgraceful.' "

A society for the abolition of slavery was formed in New Jersey as early as 1786. In 1785 a petition from a large number of the inhabitants of the State "praying for the gradual abolition of slavery," was effective in securing passage of the laws of 1786 "against importation and providing for manumission without authority." Earlier laws had given prominence to economic considerations. This law is the first to recognize that any question of ethics is involved in the holding of slaves. The preamble declares that the "principles of justice and humanity require that the barbarous custom of bringing the unoffending Africans from their native country and connections into a state of slavery be discontinued." In 1790 a committee of the Assembly believed that "from the state of society amongst us, the prevalence and prayers of the principles of universal liberty, there is little reason to think that there will be any slaves at all amongst us twenty-eight years hence." In 1804 an act was passed looking to the gradual abolition of slavery within the State, and in 1846 slavery in New Jersey was formally abolished by statute.

Mr. Coaley's monograph argues considerable study and conscientious research, but is not free from very noticeable defects in style and arrangement.

Essays, von Franz Xaver Kraus. Erste Sammlung, Berlin, Paetel, 1896; 8°, pp. 546.

Of the essays that compose this volume those on Rosmini, Vittoria Colonna, Petrarch, De Rossi, and Maxime du Camp, are surely the most characteristic of the author. Dr. Kraus is master of a fascinating narrative style. Elegant literary taste, extensive knowledge of Church history, wit and varied artistic erudition, render these studies, reprinted from the "*Deutsche Rundschau*," instructive and entertaining. The author has enjoyed the acquaintance of many persons prominent in the European world of letters, and his own reminiscences of them are

not the least pleasing paragraphs of the work. One does not need to subscribe to all the views of Dr. Kraus to enjoy the reading of these pages, from the perusal of which the reader must rise with mind and heart elevated and refreshed. There seems to be some contradiction between his views of the share of governments in the nominations of bishops, as expressed on page 179, and those he adopts when dealing with the French Republic's manner of conducting the nominations, (p. 73). Nor are his notions on "popolopapism" likely to obtain currency on our side of the ocean. Some other judgments and "states of mind" there are with which we might differ, but, on the whole, the volume is one of solid value, useful alike to the scholar and the general reader, to the poet and the historian, the artist and the antiquarian. Experience has made Dr. Kraus more mellow, more tolerant and reserved in his appreciations; hence a readier acceptance by many readers of those teachings which his age, experience, and learning justify him in offering to the world of letters.

Theology.

Dello Stato e della Operazione dell' Anima Umana Separata dal Corpo, per il P. Mro. Alessio M. Lépicier, O. S. M. Roma, Tipografia Befani, Via Celsa, 1895.

It is a natural instinct of the human mind to look into the future and peer through the veil that hangs between our world and that beyond. Metaphysics, illumined by faith, is her most powerful glass and fancy the most pronounced disturbant in her line of vision.

The neat little volume, above indicated, of some 150 pages by Prof. Lépicier of the Propaganda is very carefully reasoned and throughout its length, fancy is not even once drawn upon to aid the seer or asked to come to the rescue of tottering arguments. The author is straightforward and there is no mistaking the tenor of his principles or the trend of his conclusion.

For him, faith holds up futurity's picture enshrouded in a mist and bids reason level its glass and see what it can make out of its strengthened vision. Faith proclaims to him that the soul's essence cannot be changed after death; that intellect is not blinded, nor soul made inert, by our final taking-off; that after dissolution, the will is forever disempowered to change its des-

tinies. Three dogmatic truths are thus made to contribute their quota of light and shade to the picture's making, to wit; the Resurrection, the Beatific Vision and the Final Destiny of Man.

Reason does not set itself up as a dictator to faith, but endeavors simply to scrutinize the latter's presentations and bring to light whatever lies in the background as a rounding to revelation's triple picture of fact. On this account as well as from the cogency of empirical and metaphysical data, he rejects anything like evolution or transmigration after death; he rebukes Gerontius for his dream of an ever-deepening sleep and darkening solitude; and rejects the thought of happiness in hell as counter to the soundest principles of faith and philosophy.

The entire volume is critical. The worth of old arguments is clearly discussed and the newer and more modern notions, of which there is a fair sprinkling, are dealt with in an impartial and critical spirit. Perhaps the most pleasing feature of this modest essay is the author's thorough-going exposition of the Angelic Doctor's arguments, which are gathered piecemeal from scattered passages and grouped together into a combined whole, indicative of good constructive powers and bespeaking an artistic *savoir faire* that is pleasing. Altogether, it is a valuable contribution to Eschatology.

Compendium Theologiae Moralis, a Joanne Petro Gury, S. J., primo conscriptum, et deinde ab Antonio Ballerini, ejusdem societatis, ad notationibus auctum, nunc vero ad breviorum formam exaratum atque ad usum seminariorum hujus regionis accommodatum ab Aloysio Sabetti, S. J. Editio duodecima, novis Curis Expolita, Pustet, Ratisbon, 1896.

Manuals of theology, dogmatic and moral, like the handbooks of every science, have their day of utility and popularity. *Habent sua fata libelli.* For many reasons new ones are constantly in demand, especially in sciences whose subject-matter suffers much increase. This is the case with Moral Theology, wherein the new conditions of mankind, the social and economic changes, call unceasingly for treatment, by prudent men, of the multitudinous phases of practical life; for the application to new *species factorum* of the ancient principles of Christian ethics. The manual of Father Gury, S. J., has long been held in merited repute, and has gone through many editions, been modified, abridged, and adapted in many lands to the general and particular circumstances of Catholic life and conduct. One of the

most popular of these adaptations is that of Father Aloysius Sabetti, S. J., whose erudition, long and varied experience, natural and acquired prudence, and temperate views have made him a trusted counsellor of souls in our country. It is useless to praise a work so long and favorably known. As a rule, all the latest decisions of the Congregations are included. We might complain of an omission or two; but where there is so much that is serviceable it might look like hypercriticism to call attention to little flaws.

Cochem's Explanation of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, with a preface by Rt. Rev. Camillus P. Maes, D. D., Bishop of Covington. New York: Benziger Bros., 1896.

This is an old book, whose value is sufficiently tested by the fact of its being again put before the public after so many years. The parish priest who recognizes the great worth of the Mass in sustaining the spiritual life of his flock will gladly welcome it as a practical method of giving that instruction upon the nature and importance of the Mass so sorely needed by the average Catholic, who is as if compelled to read the explanation by having a series of methods of hearing Mass added in an appendix. What defects the book labors under consist principally in unnecessarily prolix disquisitions, which are carried along in a slow and heavy style, although the English is as flowing as the subject will allow.

The Kingdom of God on Earth, by R. Belaney, revised by the Rev. W. H. Eyre, S. J. Thomas Baker, London, 1896; pp. 68.

The table of contents of this small volume enumerates five chapters on The Blessed Virgin Mary, Angels, Preaching of the Gospel, Prayer, The Pope and Rome. In the absence of a preface or introductory note of any kind, the reader is at first at a loss to know the object of the book. It contains arguments from Scripture and analogy for the Catholic doctrines indicated. They are presented in a lucid style, and the perusal of the little work is a pleasure. The title, as well as the logical order, require an inversion of the order of chapters; the third and fifth ought to be placed at the beginning.

Ingersoll's Mistakes of Moses Exposed and Refuted. By J. T. Harrison. St. Paul, 1896; pp. 158.

American readers who are familiar with Ingersoll's tactics, will understand the contents of this work at once, and those who have read and admired the masterly replies to Ingersoll's speeches and writings by Father Lambert will be pleased to find here a worthy continuation of his work. The author employs the method of Father Lambert, that of allowing Ingersoll to speak in his own words and then replying directly. The method is very effective as it gives appositeness and force to every reply.

We welcome the work, as it will be an instrument of much good. We note with pleasure that it has the hearty endorsement of Father Lambert, at whose earnest suggestion the book was published.

Die Prophetische Inspiration, Biblisch-patristische Studie von Dr. Franz Leitner, Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1896.

Die Selbstvertheidigung des Heiligen Paulus im Galaterbriefe (I., 11-II. 21 von Prof. Dr. J. Belser, Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1896.

These essays are a continuation of the "Biblische Studien," a collection of Scriptural studies carried on by German Catholic savants under the direction of Professor Bardenhewer, of the University of Munich. In the study on Prophetic Inspiration Dr. Leitner develops the idea of inspiration in general and in particular, and proceeds thence to the Scriptural inspiration first of the Old, and second, of the New Testament. The institution of the prophets, their schools, the forms of prophecy, their self-consciousness, and a number of other deeply-interesting points are treated with fullness and lucidity. In treating of the Inspiration of the New Testament our author explains the Catholic teaching in the matter of the Apostolic inspiration, and refutes, apropos of this, the theories of Schleiermacher, Günther, and others. Specially useful to the Scriptural student are the pages (103-195) on the conception of inspiration among the primitive Christian writers and the Fathers of the Church, as well as the notions entertained by the Gnostic and Montanist heretics. The historical vicissitudes of purely theological questions never fail to interest and instruct, and in our day the narration of them goes far toward awakening an interest in theological studies, by lending to them a certain freshness and actuality.

The second study, on the Apology of St. Paul in the Epistle

to the Galatians (I. 11-II. 21) is an admirable bit of exegesis of these famous chapters. Dr. Belser holds to the old tradition, that the Galatians here addressed are the descendants of the Keltic warriors of Gaul, who conquered these Asiatic uplands in the third century before Christ; not, as others believe, Roman colonists of the southern section of the province. The reproof which St. Paul administered to St. Peter at Antioch (I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed) is examined in detail. The conduct of St. Peter, with regard to the Gentiles, is explained with Tertullian as a *conversationis vitium, non praedicationis*, a weakness of conduct, and not a change of opinion since the Council of Jerusalem. The entire commentary on these two chapters is the best of its kind that Church literature, Catholic or Protestant, has to show, and the Catholic faculty of Tübingen is to be congratulated on the possession of a scholar who can execute such a masterpiece. There are wanting a suitable introduction, an index, head-lines to the pages, and some other of the usual helps to similar studies.

Miscellaneous.

Essays Educational, by Brother Azarias, with a preface by His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons. Chicago, 1896: D. H. McBride & Co., pp. 283.

This is a new edition of the lectures delivered by Brother Azarias at the Catholic Summer School in 1893. They are not so much the result of original research as a presentation of some of the achievements of modern scholarship in the study of the history of education. As such, the essays merit very high praise. Too long have ignorance and prejudice deprived the Church of the credit due her for her educational work in the past. Modern research is doing much to remedy this wrong, and Catholic scholars are performing their share of the work. Brother Azarias was one of our American authorities on the theory, practice, and history of pedagogics. His own work in the European libraries and his familiarity with all that has been written on the history of education, equipped him well for his work. In this volume we have one of his most useful contributions to Catholic literature. Since the volume is already well known in the United States, a discussion of its contents is not necessary; we content ourselves with recommending it heartily to all interested in the history of education and the theory of pedagogics.

En Route, by J. K. Huysman. Translated from the French, with a prefatory note by C. Kegan Paul. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

This work, written by a French convert from infidelity, and translated by an English convert from Protestantism, will be read with mixed feelings by Catholics. It is a history of the opinions, temptations, and difficulties of a French literary man who is led by love of art to return to his ancient faith, but is retarded by the weakness of his own nature, and disgusted by what he considers the lack of high spirituality and artistic nature in the secular clergy. The character drawn out in these pages is one rarely met with, at least in this country. His conversion is based on no intellectual reasoning. In his degenerate days he had plunged into the grosser forms of sensuality; had even shared in the abominable rites of the Luciferians, and his attraction towards Catholicity is based on art and sentiment. The pleasure which he derives from attending at the chanting of the divine office or the performance of sacred functions is only a spiritualized form of that which he once derived from vicious courses, and in the first stages of his conversion these sensations alternated in a way that is disgusting to the ordinary reader. He enters into deep discussions concerning the relative merits of the highest mystical writers, such as St. Theresa or St. John of the Cross, but he does not restrain himself from returning at times to his evil ways. He is disgusted at the ordinary religious life of good priests and faithful Catholic people, but he shrinks at going to confession, and is unwilling to forego the pleasure of a cigarette while making a retreat. He expects the highest spirituality in all Catholics, even when he does not achieve the very elements of it in himself. Nothing in the Church that is calm and reasonable appeals to him. He is impatient with everything except the highest forms of Catholic art and Catholic mysticism. There could, perhaps, be little objection to all of this if the writer were merely delineating a character, but it is somewhat annoying to Catholics who have kept the faith, and try to keep the commandments, to feel that the author is, to some extent at least, his own hero, and is lecturing at them in this disguise. He seems to forget that the Church is not for the very good or for the very wicked to the exclusion of all others; that it is mainly composed of commonplace people, who fight with ordinary temptations and reach no extraordinary state of perfection.

There are many among these who see and approve the better way and follow the worse or the less perfect, but such Catholics are more ready to condemn themselves than to find fault with their neighbors. With the exception of this note of hypercriticism and the relation of a general confession, which could scarcely have been made as written, and should not have been written at all, the work contains much that is interesting, much, indeed, that is commendable. The struggles of a soul, its feelings, temptations, doubts, and scruples are drawn with such life-like details that we are forced to conclude that the author is writing his personal experiences, and as a study of the awakening of the religious spirit in a modern French litterateur, it deserves the attention of the psychologist and the director of souls. Then, too, when he is not critical in the bad sense, his reflections on the sacred liturgy, on cloistered communities, mysticism, the communion of saints, and the value of prayer, are of real worth, especially in English-speaking countries where such things are neglected or despised. Any priest might read with great profit his defense of carrying out Church chants and rubrics according to the expressed commands of the Church. M. Huysman is an artist and a litterateur, who has felt the full charm of the Catholic liturgy. His opinion in this respect is worth much, and it is that we cannot improve on the wonderful rubrical heritage of the ages of living faith.

His defense of the higher life of the soul, of monks and mediæval saints and mysticism, which seems to be the main purpose of the book, is valuable in this age and in this country. Even Catholics are sometimes disposed to overlook the perfection and the utility of the contemplative life, to forget the value of intercessory prayer, and to look with merely human understanding for the visible results of religious efforts. The author shows that holy men like the Trappists occupy plainly a place in the economy of Providence,—to lead men by their quiet example to a higher perfection, and to save the world by their prayers from a divine interdict.

In so far as this book possesses these positive elements, it is commendable; in so far as it is critical, it is sometimes just, often unreasonable, and always, when we consider the critic, in bad taste.

Law.

A Preliminary Treatise on Evidence at the Common Law. Part I. Development of Trial by Jury. By James Bradley Thayer, Weld Professor of Law at Harvard University. pp. 186. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1896.

Trial by jury is an institution concerning whose social and political value widely different opinions exist—the laudations of its adherents and the denunciations of its opponents vying with each other in frequency and vigor. Few, however, on either side of this controversy seem to have devoted much research or contemplation to the origin, development, or actual merits and demerits of this time-honored feature of our common law proceedings; and fewer still have been prepared by previous study for the announcement, which Professor Thayer makes in his Introduction, that the jury system is the occasion of our whole law of Evidence, Pleading, and Procedure, and of very much in all branches of the substantive common law. Ignorance of the origin and nature of the system, and of its general effect upon other divisions of the law, will henceforth be inexcusable, since in this little volume not only is the history of trial by jury traced minutely from its introduction into England by the early Norman kings in the form of an inquisition as to matters in controversy by a selected group of citizens, and their report to the court of the conclusions to which their investigations led, but the historical narrative is copiously illustrated from decisions in contemporaneous cases, whereby the causes which, step by step, developed the inquisition into the present judicial jury are clearly manifested. The substitution of the trial by inquisition for the ancient, semi-barbarous trials by battle, by ordeal, or by wager of law; the gradual change by which, in the course of centuries, the group of inquisitors, making their own investigations for themselves, became a body of judges guided by the testimony of witnesses; the necessary concomitants of this change in the adoption of rules of pleading in order that the claims of litigants might be fully made known to the jury, and the creation of tests by which the competency of witnesses, and the admissibility and relevancy of their testimony, might be determined, mark the successive stages of an evolution which is not yet completed, and suggest that here, as elsewhere in social institutions, violent and disruptive alterations in rule or action

are not constructive but destructive, and tend not to development but to degeneration. Both the advocates and the antagonists of trial by jury can profitably study with care this succinct and learned monograph; the first, that they may realize that the jury system in its present form is not of great antiquity or of unimprovable excellence; the last, that they may see that the true way to cure the evils in it of which they complain is to advance it along the same lines of evolution which have characterized its past.

Studies in the Civil Law, and its Relations to the Law of England and America. By William Wirt Howe, of the Bar of New Orleans, sometime a Justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, and W. L. Storrs Professor of Municipal Law in Yale University for the year 1894. pp. xv. 340. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1896.

The service which a comparatively small donation may render to the cause of higher education has seldom been more fully demonstrated than in the case of the Storrs lectureship on Municipal Law, erected in Yale University a few years ago by the gift for that purpose of five thousand dollars. The income from this fund has been appropriated by the University, not to the payment of a salary to a permanent professor, but to a series of lectures delivered annually by the most distinguished legal scholars of Europe and America. These courses of lectures have deservedly attracted world-wide attention, both from their intrinsic excellence and the eminence of their authors, and already, through their publication as treatises on law, are making valuable additions to legal literature. The lectures by Judge Dillon on the Laws and Jurisprudence of England and America, issued by Little, Brown & Company in 1894, elicited the highest encomiums from the critical legal press, and created an impression as to the value of such lecture courses which the appearance of these lectures of Judge Howe upon the Civil Law will certainly increase and extend. A knowledge of the Civil Law—at least in its principles and general doctrine, is daily becoming more necessary, even to the ordinary common-law practitioner, and a text-book in which these principles and doctrines should be sufficiently stated, and their relation to the common law explained, has long been wanted by the American Bar. By no American jurist better than by Judge Howe could this want have been supplied, since to his intellectual qualifications for

the study, analysis, and comparison of both systems is added his experience of many years at the bar and on the bench of Louisiana, where the Civil Law still prevails as a living, practical jurisprudence. The volume contains fourteen lectures, historical, didactic, and expository, covering all the principal topics of the Civil Law, and an appendix of eleven heads upon collateral topics not readily introducible into the text. For completeness of matter, perspicuity of definition, simplicity of arrangement, and consequent ease of comprehension, it takes rank with the best works of the series to which it belongs, and by these and its other merits adds new honors to the venerable University under whose patronage it has been given to the world.

An Essay on Professional Ethics. By George Sharswood, LL. D. Fifth edition. T. & J. W. Johnson : Philadelphia, Pa., 1896.

The demand for a fifth edition of this well-known essay is attributable both to the high reputation of its author and to the peculiar excellence of the book itself. Much valuable information, not easily obtainable elsewhere, has been collected, to which has been added advice of great importance to the young lawyer regarding his professional life. The more closely such advice is followed the more satisfactory to himself and those interested in him will be his subsequent career.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Yorke-Wendte Controversy. Discussions on the Primacy of the Pope, Church and State, by Rev. Chas. W. Wendte, D. D., and Rev. Peter C. Yorke. Monitor Publishing Company, San Francisco, 1896. Price 50 cents.

Catholic Summer and Winter School Library. Social Problems, by Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy. D. H. McBride & Co., Chicago, 1896.

Christian Ethics, by Rev. Jas. Joseph Conway, S. J. D. H. McBride & Co., Chicago, 1896.

Books and Reading, by Brother Azarias. The Cathedral Library Association, 123 East Fifteenth Street, New York, 1896.

A Selected Bibliography of the Religious Denominations of the United States compiled by Geo. Franklin Bowerman, B. A., B. L. S., with a list of the most important Catholic Works of the World as an Appendix, compiled by Rev. Jos. H. McMahon. The Cathedral Library Association, New York, 1896.

SCIENTIFIC CHRONICLE.

EDITED BY PROF. F. K. CAMERON, PH. D.

Explorations in Arctic Regions have been exceptionally interesting and successful this year. First in brilliancy and importance is the Nansen expedition, which has been exploited so much in the daily press. The conception and execution of this expedition redound in the most honorable way upon all concerned. Leaving aside the purely scientific results, which are very great, it would have been justified by settling the question of the polar current, upon which Dr. Nansen relied, showing the increased probability of ultimately reaching the highest possible latitude and the necessity of revising Payer's map of Franz-Joseph Land.

M. Andr  e's proposed exploration by balloon was necessarily postponed by adverse winds.

A very successful exploration of Spitzbergen was accomplished by an English party of naturalists, amongst whom Sir W. Martin Conway should be prominently mentioned.

Such work as that of the Cornell University expedition to Greenland this summer ought to attract much attention, and it is to be hoped that the example of Mr. E. G. Wyckoff, who so generously made possible this particular journey, will be followed by others. The party, consisting of several instructors and a number of advanced students, sailed from Sydney July 16th, with Lieutenant Peary, in the *Hope*, and after several stops was landed on the Nugsnak peninsula, about eighty miles north of Upernavik, on August 7th. They remained there until September 7th, studying the geology of the region and making collections of plants, insects, marine invertebrates, and birds. Prof. Ralph S. Tarr, who had general direction of the party, has published a brief account of the geographical and geological results in *Science* for October 9th, and further reports in the more special journals are promised.

A New Element: Lucium.—We are again presented with a new element, which possesses more than ordinary interest from two facts. Because the discovery is another example of the pos-

sibilities brought about by the beautiful interdependence of the arts and sciences; and, moreover, the new element does not find a place in the periodic system of the elements enunciated by Mendeleff and Lothar Meyer, and which is generally regarded as one of the cornerstones of the science of chemistry.

Monazite, a mineral which is now obtained in relatively large quantities as a sand mixed with garnets, rutile, and other impurities, has come into prominence as the chief source of the material from which the films are prepared for that form of the gas lamp which is coming so largely into use under the name of Auer von Welsbach. Monazite is chemically a phosphate of certain "rare parts" or metals, and the films of the Welsbach burners are principally oxide of thorium.

M. P. Barrière, in working with this mineral, has apparently succeeded in isolating from the other rare earths present one distinguished by well characterized chemical properties, and his testimony is substantiated by Schutzenberger, Cleve, (joint discoverer with Nilson of scandium,) Fresenius, and Lecoq de Boisbandrau, himself the discoverer of gallium. It is the endeavor of the discoverer to perfect a method for obtaining the oxide of the new metal in commercial quantities, for use in an incandescent lamp (hence the name *lucium*), and to avoid the infringement of the prior patent rights of the Welsbach people.

The atomic weight of *lucium* is given as 140, and this is what gives it interest in the eyes of the scientific world, as there is no place for an element of that atomic weight in the periodic system. And should this apparent result be satisfactorily substantiated, our accepted theories should have to be seriously modified.

However, this theory has survived many attacks apparently as strong as this one, and has yet not entirely escaped from the suspicion thrown upon it by the recent discovery of argon. Monazite has also furnished material before to this discussion; for instance, the supposed discovery of rassium in 1889 by Chroustchoff. While awaiting further work in this direction the law of the periodicity of the elements will continue to be used as the working hypothesis with considerable confidence as probably the greatest generalization yet obtained in the field of the physical sciences.

The Presence of Gold and Silver in Sea Water.—Whether or no these metals are present in the form of salts in the water of

the oceans has always been a mooted question, and has been investigated by Sonstadt, Sterry Hunt, Würtz, Münster, Inglis, and others, but without satisfactory results.

Prof. A. Liversidge, of the University of Sydney, has just published the results of an investigation on the sea waters in the neighborhood of New South Wales. He concludes that gold is present in about the proportion of 0.5 to 1.0 grain per ton of water, or about 200 tons of gold per cubic mile. Taking the volume of the ocean to be 388,710,679 cubic miles (a recent estimate), and assuming 1 grain per ton as the average, there would be upwards of 75,000,000,000 tons of gold present, an enormous amount, but probably very small compared with that distributed through the earth. Professor Liversidge found that the methods now known for the estimation of gold were not sufficiently refined for accurate determinations in such very dilute solutions as he was obliged to work with, and his results are therefore given with caution. It might possibly be profitable to extract the gold from the sea water, as a by product, in the manufacture of bromides, salt, etc., he thinks.

The amount of silver present was so small that he did not give any analytical results, but quotes Malaguti, who estimated that silver was present in the ocean at about the proportion of 0.15 grains per ton, or less than one-sixth of the above estimate for gold.

Some Recent Applications of Electricity.—Electricity plays so large a part in our life nowadays that one no longer feels surprised at announcements of its achievements, nor even does the average well-informed person keep pace with its many applications. One of the most remarkable of these is the process recently patented by Dr. Wm. W. Jacques, of Boston, who appears about to solve the problem of transforming the energy in coal directly into electricity. The information yet to be obtained is somewhat meagre, but according to the testimony of witnesses the preliminary experiments, while extremely simple, were very satisfactory. An iron vessel is filled with caustic soda, heated to fusion (about 300°C.), and air is forced through. The iron vessel is connected by a metallic conductor with a carbon stick, which is then introduced into the fused soda, when oxidation takes place by contact with the air, and an electric current is produced in the conductor. The fused electrolyte

is said to suffer no deterioration. Practical applications are soon expected, as mechanical difficulties, economical fusion of the electrolyte, etc., promise but little difficulty.

The manufacture of calcium carbide by means of the electric arc is assuming large proportions, and a few statements as to the present status of the industry may be of general interest. The principal works are at Spray, N. C.; those of the Philadelphia company at Niagara, at Lockport, N. Y., and a number abroad. A very complete description of the plant at Spray has recently appeared by Dr. de Chalmot, who had charge of the work there for some time. The apparatus consists of a brick oven fitted with iron doors, and provided with large carbon electrodes at the top and bottom, whose relative positions can be readily adjusted by a screw. An alternating current of from 50 to 100 volts and of 700 to 2,000 amperes is used, although a direct current might be used. The raw materials, coke and lime, in approximately molecular proportions, are carefully ground and mixed in special machinery, and added gradually until the capacity of the furnace be reached.

The process of manufacture is a very simple one. Certain details of a mechanical nature and time saving are introduced into the Niagara plant. The following quotation from the *Progressive Age*, a New York publication, is the conclusion of a commission of experts sent to investigate the Spray works: "Our estimate, therefore, of the cost of producing calcium carbide at Spray, by working the furnaces three hundred and sixty-five days a year and twenty-four hours a day, yielding on the average one ton of two thousand pounds gross carbide a day, is \$32.76 per ton. Of this amount \$14.39 is for material. The freight charge on lime and coke are heavy at Spray, and add materially to the cost." The principal use for the carbide, the preparation of acetylene, is practically without cost, so that about 9,400 cubic feet (the yield of a ton of carbide) of this gas is obtained for about \$33. The same amount of ordinary illuminating gas would cost about \$14. But acetylene has at least eight times the illuminating power of ordinary gas. It is not as poisonous as ordinary water gas, and has the distinct advantage of announcing its presence by a decided odor. It is, however, more explosive when mixed with air. The temperature of the flame of burning acetylene is about 350° lower than that of ordinary gas, which is on the whole disadvantageous as lowering

the illuminating power. The use of calcium carbide as a fuel, while promising well on paper, has not as yet been practically demonstrated.

Tanning by electricity is described in a recent number of the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*. The pit is about 10 feet long and 6 feet wide, with a capacity of 15,000 liters. Electrodes of nicked copper are so arranged that the hides are suspended from them in such way as to close the circuit. The tanning solution consists of oak extract with a little hemlock. A current of 12 amperes and 12 volts is used, and good leather is obtained in from three to six days, depending on weight and quality of the hides.

The *Journal of Physical Chemistry* (edited by Wilder D. Bancroft and Joseph E. Trevor, published at Cornell University, Vol. I., No. 1, 1896).

The initial number of this valuable journal will no doubt make a very favorable impression. It is justified by the fact that there is not a special journal in English devoted to this most important branch of the science, nor do any of the existing journals give anything like satisfactory abstracts or reviews. The importance of this special field, already very great, is rapidly growing, and American investigators are taking no mean part in it. The editors and the board of reviewers are all young men, enthusiastic yet conservative workers in this field. The present number will be of general interest from Professor Wald's paper on "Chemistry and its Laws," which is too technical for discussion here, but which is another indication of the changes that are rapidly coming in the method of teaching the science, due in great measure to the work of an American investigator, J. Willard Gibbs. This method of teaching is the subject of a paper by Professor Freer, very ably reviewed in this issue. Future numbers are awaited with great interest. It is to be hoped that Van't Hoff's promised paper will appear early.

The Scenery of Switzerland¹—Sir John Lubbock belongs to the group of English men of science which included Huxley, Tyndall, Baring-Gould, and others, which has done so much to popularize the result of modern science, creating at once models of style in the expression of their work, and an interested

¹The Scenery of Switzerland, and the Causes to Which it is Due, by the Right Hon. Sir John Lubbock, M. P., F. R. S., D. C. L., LL. D. The Macmillan Co., Limited, New York. 366 pp. \$1.50.

audience. For nowhere, as in England, is the heart of the man of science gladdened by an appreciative laity, who care to know the result of his work for its own, and culture's sake, without intending to become disciples or specialists themselves. To this class, which is growing in England and becoming appreciable elsewhere, this book is primarily addressed.

It is especially noteworthy, that one is made to feel the aesthetic side of the subject. This idea, which the title strongly suggests, is not lost sight of in the mind of the author, although the greater part of his words are more specifically addressed to other things. In one respect, despite the care of the author, and though he avowedly and manifestly tries to avoid the difficulty, this volume is not so happy as some he has already given us, in that the nature of the subject involves a certain amount of technical knowledge, which cannot fairly be expected of the average reader. The opening chapter which deals with the geology of Switzerland in a concise, yet remarkably lucid manner, may prove the stumbling-block, condemning the book for many readers. But it is not by any means a difficult one to master, and whoever can persevere to that extent will find the book exceptionally interesting.

The subject is a very difficult one, on which the authorities widely disagree. The various sources of information have been brought together very completely, and fairly copious references are made to the original papers, especially the more modern ones. And as this has never been done so completely before, the work will have great interest for the professional geographer and geologist. No extended discussion of the views advanced can be attempted here. The literature, which is in an appendix, has evidently been consulted in an exhaustive way, and the whole book evinces careful and mature consideration, being entirely free from the slovenliness as to detail which so often characterizes the work of versatile writers like Sir John. He generally expresses decided views on the many mooted questions the subject presents, but at the same time is very fair in giving all the information on any particular point. He may well serve as a model in this matter. Much general information is to be garnered from this little volume; for instance, the most modern views as to the flow of glaciers, avalanches, lake formation, with the theories of Ramsay, Tyndall, and Gastaldi; effect

of weathering on scenery, etc., which form interesting little essays of themselves. The lay reader will find the glossary of scientific terminology a very satisfactory addition. A good map accompanies the volume, which would be much more satisfactory, however, if it were on a somewhat larger scale so as to avoid the appearance of crowding at the expense of accuracy and clearness. The 154 illustrations accompanying the text are very helpful and generally satisfactory. The publishers may be well satisfied with their part in the book.

For the intelligent tourist visiting the Alps, it will be a great boon, an unique guide, and if he be of those who care for the "why" of things, his pleasure will be much augmented.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

General Intelligence.

The New Dormitory, which it was hoped would be ready for occupation by October 1, but was delayed by unforeseen obstacles as well as by the injuries inflicted by the September gale, is now rapidly progressing toward completion. This building will add greatly to the conveniences of the University and the efficiency of its work. It is of brick, four stories in height, besides basement and attic. The style of architecture and the general appearance are sufficiently ornamental to harmonize with the purpose for which it is designed and with the other edifices to be erected on that portion of the University grounds. For comfort and convenience it will compare favorably with any college dormitory in the United States. In the basement are to be located a recreation room, a dining room, and a kitchen, with storage and boiler rooms. On the main floor are a parlor and a chapel. The remainder of the principal floor and all the upper floors are to be divided into suites of apartments for students and professors. Each suite consists of a study-room and a bed-room. The situation of the building is such that every room is not only thoroughly ventilated but receives the sun during some portions of the day. Bath rooms are to be provided on every floor, and the building will be heated by steam. The main entrance is within one hundred feet of the electric road leading into the city, and by the rear entrance access will be had to the short walk communicating with the lecture and recitation halls.

University Athletics.—The Athletic Association will formally organize for the work of the year early in November, by which time the qualifications of the applicants for membership can be fully ascertained. Probably no foot-ball team will be established at present. During the vacation a double hand-ball court has been erected in the rear of Caldwell Hall, and a large base-ball field is now in process of preparation behind McMahon Hall. With the increase in the number of students much valuable material has been added to the athletic resources

of the University, and before the close of the academic year will doubtless have assisted to extend its already honorable record.

Vacation Work made its usual demands upon the time and energies of many of the professors. Rev. Dr. Pace gave a course of lectures on Psychology at the Catholic Summer School at Plattsburg, N. Y. He also gave a course of lectures on the same subject at the Catholic Summer School at Madison, Wis., besides a series of lectures on pedagogical topics in St. Mary's Convent, Notre Dame, Ind. Rev. Dr. Shahan delivered ten lectures in July in the University of Pennsylvania. They were given under the auspices of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. The subject was "The Political Relations of the Early Roman Empire and the Primitive Christian Society." He also delivered four illustrated lectures on "Early Christian Art" before the Catholic Summer School at Plattsburg, N. Y. Dr. Egan spent five weeks in lecturing on Dante, Shakespeare, and English Philology, before the Summer Assemblies in Illinois, Kansas, and Nebraska, making his headquarters at the Mother House of the Sisters of Charity at Leavenworth. Dr. W. C. Robinson was engaged at the Summer School at Greenacre, Me., assisting in the course of lectures on Comparative Religions. Dr. Greene occupied his summer in exploring the flora of the mountains of Wyoming, Nevada, California, and Colorado, making extensive collections with which he has enriched the already magnificent herbarium of the University. These collections include a considerable number of species hitherto unknown to botanical science, and from them and his copious field notes important printed contributions to the knowledge of the West-American plant-world will be made during the coming winter. The medium of publication will be Dr. Greene's serial "Pittonia," the first two volumes of which were completed during his professorship in the University of California. The third volume was begun and two parts of it have been issued at the University within the past year.

Lectures on Mediaeval English History.—Rev. Lucian Johnston, S. T. L., is giving a course of lectures, once a week, on "The English Church from 1066 A. D. to 1250 A. D." This course was not announced in the Year-Book.

Material Improvements.—A new ball alley, built of brick, has been provided for the students in the neighborhood of the Astronomical Observatory. In the rear of Divinity College a number of graded and gravelled walks have been provided. Other improvements in the interest of the students are intended. The damages done by the hurricane to the University buildings have been repaired. Though extensive, they were not serious.

Rev. Fr. Vuibert, S. S.—Rev. Fr. Vuibert, S. S., formerly professor at St. Charles' College, Ellicott City, Md., has been transferred to the Divinity College as assistant spiritual director, to replace Rev. Fr. Orban, S. S., who has returned to France.

Affiliated Colleges.—The houses of the Paulist, Marist, and Holy Cross Fathers opened with a goodly number of students in each. The Paulist Fathers have twenty-two students, the Marists twenty, and the Fathers of the Holy Cross twelve. Thus there are between fifty and sixty students of these religious institutes profiting by the advantages of the University. Many of them are matriculated students, either in Divinity College or McMahon Hall. The others are auditors, and attend such lectures as their directors desire. All are good and faithful students, and cannot fail to become powerful influences in the cause of higher education.

New Reading-Room.—Gift of Mgr. McMahon.—A new reading-room has been fitted up on the third floor of McMahon Hall for the benefit of the students. Our generous benefactor, Mgr. McMahon, has made the first donation to the new reading-room, in the shape of one thousand choice volumes.

Rev. Dr. Henry Hyvernât assisted as representative of the University at the ceremonies of the one hundred and fiftieth celebration of the founding of Princeton University.

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Schroeder took part in the Congress of German Catholics at Detroit, where he urged the foundation in the University of a Chair of the German Language, declaring that the object had the special blessing of Our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII.

School of Philosophy.

The School of Philosophy has already enrolled the names of fifty students. It begins the year with increased libraries, and with a more thorough organization of its several Departments. The serious illness of its Dean, the Rev. Dr. Pace, has suspended

for a short time some of the courses, but with his returning health, now happily assured, they will be promptly resumed. At the commencement of the year seven applications were filed for the degree of Master of Philosophy, and five for the degree of Ph. D.

In the Department of Philosophy Proper twenty-eight students are pursuing Dr. Shanahan's courses in Methodology and the History of Philosophy, and in the Academy, which meets once a week, candidates for degrees offer their studies in Philosophy for critical examination. The library of this Department is now completely equipped with many histories of Philosophy in different languages, all the modern writers on logic, and full sets of the chief scholastic writers.

In the Department of Letters the courses in English Literature by Drs. Egan and Stoddard are attended by twenty-five regular students. The subjects under treatment by Dr. Egan are English Philology, the Art of Versification, Dramatic Construction, Style, and Construction of Prose. Under Dr. Stoddard the class are making a critical study of the works of George Eliot.

In the Department of Mathematics ten students are following the courses of Dr. Searle and Dr. de Saussure. The mathematical library is completed, equipped with all classical books and a large number of periodicals.

In the Department of Physics thirteen students are following the courses and laboratory work under Dr. Shea and Prof. Zahm.

In the Department of Chemistry nine students are engaged in advanced research under Drs. Griffin and Cameron, several of whom are also pursuing the course in Mineralogy under Dr. Cameron. This Department acknowledges the gift to its Mineralogical Cabinet of a collection of one hundred and two specimens from the Smithsonian Institution, and valuable assistance received from John W. Langdale, Esq., in its Museum.

In the Department of Biology Dr. Greene is giving advanced courses in Botany and continuing his personal contributions to the development and literature of his science.

During the summer Dr. Hoffman, of the Smithsonian Institution and Curator of the Ethnological Museum of the University, has been engaged in fitting up the hall devoted to that purpose, and collecting and arranging the exhibit which will soon be open to public inspection.

School of the Social Sciences.

The School of Social Sciences opened on October 6th with a larger attendance than that of the preceding Academic year. In each of its departments there are new candidates for degrees in Social Sciences, some of whom will probably receive their Baccalaureate during the current year.

The Department of Sociology is still under the direction of Dr. Bouquillon and Dr. Rooker, Father Kerby having determined to return to Europe for another year of study before entering upon the active work of instruction. The lecture courses in this Department are well attended and are awakening great interest in the subject throughout the entire University.

The Department of Economics will enjoy, this year as last, the privilege of weekly lectures on Social Economics from Hon. Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, who commences his course on November 2d, at 4.45 P. M. His lectures will be a continuation, not a repetition, of those delivered last year. The class work of this Department is in the hands of Mr. Neill.

The Department of Political Science remains in charge of Prof. W. C. Robinson, awaiting the appointment of a permanent professor to this chair. The researches of the students in this Department, which during the previous year embraced the Elements of Political Science and the History of Political Societies, are now being directed in the principles of the kindred sciences of Sociology, Economics, and Law, in accordance with the policy of this School which requires of the students of each Department some familiarity with the subjects of the others. This collateral work being finished, the specific courses in Political Science will be resumed according to the published schedule.

The Department of Law is in a most satisfactory condition. The entire number of students is twenty-seven, of whom six are Masters of Laws pursuing their studies for the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, four are Bachelors of Laws seeking the Master's degree, seven are advanced students for the Bachelor's degree, and ten are just commencing their legal education. The class of candidates for the Doctor's degree is believed to be the largest ever yet in attendance for that purpose at an American University, a fact which gives the greatest encouragement as to the future

of this Department, whose especial aim it is, and ever will be, to extend the knowledge of the higher and more profound branches of the law. The courses offered to these students in the Civil Law cover both the Law itself and its History, and are pursued partly by lectures and partly by readings in the Latin text of the Law as well as in the works of modern commentators. To meet the wants of Masters of Laws who are unwilling, in view of their professional interests, to devote all the time of their preparation for this degree to a study of the Civil Law, the requirements stated on pages 69 and 70 of the Year-Book for 1896-7, have been so far modified as to permit the student either (1) to give his exclusive attention to the Civil Law, or (2) to divide his efforts between the Civil Law and one Common Law course, or (3) to combine with his Civil Law two Common Law courses. In the first case his ability to read foreign languages must extend to Latin, French, German, and such other tongues as the authors of the books to which he is referred may have employed. In the second case he must be able to read one foreign language besides the Latin. In the third a reading knowledge of Latin alone is sufficient.

The candidates for the Master's degree are concentrating their energies on the courses on Corporations and Constitutional Law. The course on Corporations includes not only the Law of Private and Public Corporations but also that of Railroads and Telegraphs, and from its intrinsic interest and prospective value has attracted more students than any other of the advanced Common Law Courses offered by the Department.

The candidates for the Bachelor degree, both advanced students and beginners, are all engaged in recitation work from standard text-books. Each student in these classes is required to attend ten hours of recitation per week, in addition to whatever lectures and other exercises he may choose to follow. The beginners are now reciting twice daily, five days in the week, from Robinson's Elementary Law, which they will finish in November, to be followed by Tiedeman on Real Property and Clark on Contracts, and the advanced students, once daily (Saturday and Sunday excepted) in Shipman's Common Law Pleading, and once daily in Parsons on Contracts.

In addition to their law studies all the candidates for the Bachelor's degree are pursuing two or more minor courses in other Departments of the University,—Philosophy Proper,

English Literature, and Economics, being the subjects to which the greater number give such attention as can be spared from their work in their own Departments.

Institute of Technology.

The Institute of Technology begins this, its first year of independent existence, with fifteen]students. Regular courses are being given in Applied Mathematics and Civil Engineering, and preparatory courses in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering. As rapidly as possible the material equipment of the Institute will be extended, and every facility afforded to students for practical work which will prepare them for professional life.

Gifts to the Hellenic Department.—Rev. Thomas L. Kelly, Providence, R. I., has donated five hundred stereopticon slides for archæological purposes. Very Rev. Edward P. Allen, president of Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md., presented a copy of O'Leary's Greek Grammar, a rare book. Rev. H. M. Chapuis, S. S., A. M., of St. Charles' College, Ellicott City, presented a copy of the Grammaire Grecque, by l'Abbé E. Ragon, seventh edition, Paris, 1889.

NECROLOGY.

RIGHT REVEREND MARTIN MARTY, D. D., O. S. B., Bishop of St. Cloud, Minn., and a director of the University, died September 19. He was born in Schwyz, Switzerland, January 12, 1834, and received an excellent education, entered among the Benedictines at an early age, was ordained a priest September 14, 1856, and came shortly afterward to this country, where he was stationed successively in Indiana and Dakota. St. Meinrad's Abbey is his work. His devotion to the Indians was remarkable, especially to the Sioux, over whom he possessed great influence, often serving the Government as intermediary. In 1879 he was made Vicar Apostolic of Dakota, and in 1889 first Bishop of Sioux Falls, in South Dakota. In 1894 he was transferred to St. Cloud, Minn. Bishop Marty was an earnest and faithful friend of the University, and took the deepest interest in its advancement. *Requiescat in Pace!*

THE GAELIC CHAIR.¹

The endowment of the Chair of the Gaelic language and literature took place on October 21st, at 4 o'clock, in the Assembly room of the McMahon Hall of Philosophy. The exercises were attended by the Board of Directors and the visiting Archbishops, the acting Rector, the professors, and the students of all the schools. A large delegation came from the Baltimore, Alexandria, and Washington branches of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and many visitors from the city assisted. There were present Archbishops Williams of Boston, Corrigan of New York, Riordan of San Francisco, Ryan of Philadelphia, Feehan of Chicago, Chappelle of Santa Fé, Elder of Cincinnati, Katzer of Milwaukee, Ireland of St. Paul, Kain of St. Louis, Hennessy of Dubuque. Bishops Foley of Detroit, Maes of Covington, Horstmann of Cleveland, and Farley, auxiliary bishop of New York, were also present. The delegation of the Ancient Order occupied places on the platform with the archbishops and bishops. They were: Mr. P. J. O'Connor, of Savannah, Ga., National President; Mr. J. C. Weadock, of Bay City, Mich., National Vice-President; Mr. James O'Sullivan, of Philadelphia, National Secretary; Mr. T. J. Dundon, of Columbus, Ohio, National Treasurer. Besides these gentlemen there were the National Directors, Messrs. M. F. Wilhere, of Philadelphia, Pa.; T. J. Mahoney, Omaha, Neb.; J. P. Murphy, Norwich, Conn., and M. J. Burns, Indianapolis, Ind. Mr. Thomas A. E. Weadock, ex-Congressman from Michigan, accompanied the delegation, and made the opening discourse. Cardinal Gibbons presided and Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, acting Rector of the University, introduced the speakers. Dr. Garrigan spoke as follows: Your Eminence, Most Reverend Archbishops, Right Reverend Bishops and

Delegates, Professors, Students and Friends:

The occasion which has attracted this distinguished assemblage of church dignitaries and gentlemen prominent in the honorable walks of life from remote parts of the country is an interesting and significant one, namely, the

¹A complete account of the proceedings on this occasion will shortly be issued, containing, besides the discourses here given, those of Messrs. Weadock and Wilhere.
—EDITOR.

actual establishment in this university of a professional chair for the teaching and the study of the Gaelic language, its literature and its history in perpetuity, or while this institution will last.

Four years ago the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, then 40,000 strong, came here, through its representatives, for a similar occasion, and their munificent gift has associated forever the name of their apostle, Father Mathew, with the life and the fame of this University. To-day the Ancient Order of Hibernians of America, an organization of American citizens in high repute with Church and State, numbering 100,000 members and spread over this vast republic, is here, through its delegates, to pay tribute to faith and science in their homage to higher Christian education; to show their love of the ancient tongue of the Gael, which holds enshrined in its rich, sweet accents the treasures of that ancient race that was cultured and Christian long before many of the present nations of the world had emerged from barbarism.

The occasion is, indeed, interesting and significant. It is interesting because it means the opening up to scientific study and research of fields of knowledge hitherto unknown to our American higher schools. It is significant because it voices the desire of the people for the highest culture, the broadest learning. The people have built the churches and the schools, and now they enter and equip the universities, introducing true democracy into education. This splendid act of to-day means this also: it is the refutation of a historical lie, which has been transmitted through English literature for seven hundred years against a noble, Christian and intelligent people.

We welcome you most cordially to these halls, distinguished representatives of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of America. We are proud of your generous act, proud of the spirit that prompted it, and proud also of the promptness and unobtrusive manner in which you have accomplished it. The name of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and this deed will be inscribed on the private rolls and on the public tablets of the University, and these will tell to coming generations the innate love of the Gael for faith, for fatherland and for higher education.

At the conclusion of these discourses Dr. Garrigan introduced Mr. P. J. O'Connor, of Savannah, Ga., the National President of the Order, who spoke as follows:

Your Eminence, Most Reverend Archbishops, Right Reverend Bishops, Very Reverend and Reverend Fathers, Ladies and Gentlemen: I enjoy the distinguished honor of being the National President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of America, which has for its object the promotion of practical Catholicism: the furtherance of friendship, unity, and true Christian charity among its members, and peace and good will to all men, the advancement of our country's welfare, and the cultivation of a love for the Emerald Isle that sparkles like a gem in the Western Sea.

The recognition accorded our noble order by our highest ecclesiastical authorities at their conference in Philadelphia, in 1894, has materially aided us in extending its beneficent influences. We have always felt that our organization was entitled to be considered an effective auxiliary to the devoted

clergy in diffusing the principles and promoting the ends of good Mother Church, and are, therefore, grateful for the judgment declaring the A. O. H. of America, according to the words of His Grace, Archbishop Ryan, "a most admirable society." Since then we recall with pride and pleasure the progress it has made, its banner planted in fruitful fields, devotion to Holy Church, fidelity to American institutions, allegiance to Erin's cause; and through the intervention of wise laws, loyal officers, and patriotic members, it has attained a position that redounds to its honor and glory, and makes it the grandest and most powerful organization of our race and creed in the world. I sincerely trust it will always deserve and have the good will of our spiritual superiors, whose blessings I earnestly invoke on its future career.

At the Omaha convention, held in May, 1894, it was unanimously decided that the true and patriotic members of our order should manifest in a substantial manner their appreciation of learning, love for the faith of Saint Patrick, and devotion to the Roman Catholic Church, by raising a fund of \$50,000 to endow a "Hibernian Chair" in this great Catholic University of America, for the perpetual teaching of the language, literature, and history of our race, and our beloved and honored National Chaplain, Rt. Rev. John S. Foley, Bishop of Detroit, was selected to receive the money contributed thereto.

It is gratifying to report that our efforts have been crowned with happy success and that our worthy National Chaplain handed me to-day a check for the entire endowment fund. The official representatives of our ancient and respected society are here to present, through me, said fund to this grand temple of learning.

In doing so, permit me to say, that we are proud of the past history of the country from whence we, or our fathers, came, the foundations of which have been laid in the very best materials. Unlike Greece, trampled by the enervate Turk, with her pride and spirit forever departed, and the records of her greatness perpetuated only in the language of her orators and the song of her poets, Ireland lives pregnant with vitality. During the fifth century Rome had reached the zenith of her power and glory. It was an age of learning, and the whole horizon glowed with the hues reflected by the accomplishments of the scholar. But the empire was destined soon to pass away. The close of this century was marked by the most terrible calamities to the west of Europe. The tide of barbaric invasion, setting in from north of the Danube, began to roll its billows from the wilds of Transylvania and the distant plains of Tartary. The tumultuous host rushing from the forests of Scandinavia swept with a besom of destruction over the plains of Italy, submerging the temples of the new religions and burying in their track the monuments of Roman pride and valor. Ireland escaped the terrible deluge, and reviving Europe turned to her, the asylum of the distressed votaries of knowledge, and sought there for the wherewith to reconstruct the shattered fabric of her society.

The cherished abodes of learning in Ireland at that time grew up peacefully into magnificent proportions and became so widely renowned that from all countries those in quest of knowledge flocked to her hospitable shores. Among the students in her collegiate towns could be heard the language of the Gael and others. The radiance of her glory flooded all civilized nations,

and the going forth of her sons from those celebrated schools to foreign lands was like the bursting of a great star whose golden fragments lit up with a pure and steady light the clouded skies of Christendom. Intrepid Irish missionaries founded monasteries in many countries, which, in those days, meant seats of learning and centres of civilization where religion, art, science and literature went hand in hand. This was an age more brilliant than that of Pericles or Augustus, because it was illumined by the light of Christianity.

The tenacity with which the people of Ireland have, under all circumstances, clung to the religion of their fathers is the shining mirror which reflects all their nobler virtues. This transcendent faith is the brilliant gem in the coronet of Ireland's glory.

"And thus Erin, my country, though broken thou art;
There's a lustre within thee, that ne'er will decay."

Her unexampled piety during that period earned for her the title of the "Island of Saints." From the sixth to the middle of the ninth century Ireland maintained the intellectual supremacy in Europe, and on account of the wisdom and learning of her sons she derived the title of "Island of Scholars."

Such was Ireland when enjoying the blessings of freedom and at peace with the world. Surely liberty did not injure her. In its light she advanced in virtue, in power, in learning, in all that makes a nation great and glorious, in all that makes a people happy, contented and prosperous.

Since then she has gone through centuries of incessant war, national invasion, and religious persecution, and at the end thereof her spirit is still erect, her heart unbroken, her national life stronger than ever, and she insists upon obtaining what she is justly entitled to, namely, a place in the sisterhood of nations. The day of that devoutly-wished-for consummation may be deferred, but ultimately it must come. As Tom Davis has said, "the spirit of a nation never dies." Hope is the inspiration and solace of them who would be free. Hope is the morning star and evening star of Ireland's adoration. It is hope that bids us proclaim in the sweet and flowing numbers of Erin's verse:

The nations have fallen, and thou still art young,
Thy sun is but rising when others are set,
And though slavery's cloud o'er thy morning bath hung,
The full moon of freedom shall beam around thee yet.

We are proud of the fact that from now on there will be added to the chairs of learning in this University, at the Capital of our great Republic, one that will be a lasting monument to the progressive spirit of our order and will reawaken an interest in the preservation and diffusion of the language, literature, and traditions of the Emerald Isle. It has been well said "that, one hundred thousand men of Irish blood have decreed that our dear old Gaelic tongue shall live, and live, too, in their midst, a wellspring to all time of the holiest and highest suggestions for mankind."

I, therefore, take great pleasure in presenting to your Eminence, as Chancellor of the University, this check for \$50,000 to endow the "Hibernian Chair" herein as a gift from the loyal and patriotic hearts that beat in our grand brotherhood.

Dr. Garrigan then introduced Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet Weadock, ex-Congressman from Bay City, Mich., who reviewed the history of the movement, and Judge M. F. Wilhere, of Philadelphia, Pa., during whose presidency of the Order the movement was inaugurated.

The money was handed to Cardinal Gibbons in the form of a draft from the Peninsular Savings Bank, of Detroit, on New York, payable to the order of Bishop Foley, of Detroit, for \$50,000. Cardinal Gibbons, as chancellor of the University, received the gift. He spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN: It gives me the greatest pleasure to meet you here to-day on this auspicious occasion, and to greet in you the generous founders of a new branch of teaching in this beloved school.

For many years priests and laymen of Gaelic origin have made isolated attempts to secure on American soil the teaching of the tongue of their ancestors. The names and the work of these men are known to the few only, but they deserve a general mention on this occasion as the pioneers of the movement that has now reached the first stage of a durable success in its formal recognition by the Catholic Church in the United States.

Then came societies of men scattered over the land, East and West, North and South, who met to speak the musical tongue of their ancestors. The praiseworthy cause maintained its own, mayhap gained ground slowly, until the Ancient Order of Hibernians of America, in biennial convention assembled at New Orleans, in 1892, determined to offer for this purpose a fund of \$50,000 to the Catholic University of America, said fund to establish a Chair of the Gaelic Language and Literature. The offer was accepted by the directors of the University, and at Omaha, in 1894, the collection of the fund was assured by the unanimous consent of the delegates of the order. The hundred thousand members of the Order have paid this tax, with the result that the officers of the association are here to-day to present this gift to the University.

Before going further I would call attention to three things. First, to the generosity of this vast number of Americans of Gaelic descent and Catholic faith. As a rule they are not over-rich, and they help to bear the material burden of the Church in all the States and Territories of this Union. Moreover, the time in which the fund was raised was one of the severest financial stringency.

Second. This act of the Ancient Order of Hibernians reveals a spirit of profound confidence on their part, a firm conviction that the solemn invitation of Leo XIII. to contribute to the support of the University, and the control exercised by the American Episcopate over the entire work, are ample guarantee that the will of the donors will never be frustrated, nor the spirit of their gift violated.

Third. The Ancient Order of Hibernians, in founding this Chair, is moved chiefly by sentiments of gratitude and veneration for the past services of the Gaelic tongue. It has by no means the intention of introducing the Gaelic as a spoken tongue. It knows that the great tongue of this

country, by marvelous dispensation of Divine Providence, is the English tongue. As loyal and affectionate sons of this mighty Commonwealth, the members of the Order cling not only to the fundamental compacts of the Nation and the States, to the common institutions and also to the spirit of this country, but likewise to its national tongue and literature. They believe, however, that this does not exclude a pious respect for the history and the civilization of the past among the Gael; for the *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*; for their ancestry of scholars, teachers, missionaries, saints, and martyrs. They believe that the Gaelic can be taught, even as Latin and Greek are taught, for academical uses, and they know that it has a most honored place beside the Sanscrit in the esteem of all modern philologists.

Indeed, the Gaelic tongue has been, within the last half-century, the object of profound researches. The Gael of the British Isles, and notably those of Wales and Ireland, have always done much, considering their straitened circumstances, to keep alive a respect for, and a literary knowledge of, this most ancient and venerable tongue. In Wales, the establishment of Elisteddods and the devotion of individuals have enriched the world with a great mass of mediæval song, and law, and history; have opened up an entire province to the student of the science of languages. They have shown to the world the unsuspected origin of the spirit of chivalry and romance, the thirst for knightly adventure and distant wanderings after spiritual ideals, that so strikingly differentiate the mediæval world from our own. But while the Welsh and Scotch Gael have been devoted to the cultivation of their ancestral tongue, the Irish Gael has not been entirely careless. The names of John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry will live as long as there is gratitude in the Irish race, or interest in the history and literature of the pre-historic peoples of Europe.

Nevertheless, this devotion would not have saved the tongue of the Gael, be it ever so ancient and perfect, had not Continental scholars come to its aid. The reason is, that in its own home, chiefly in Ireland, it has been long persecuted as a specially Catholic tongue, and later, failed to secure any recognition from universities or academies of learned men. Justice demands that the honor of having been the creator of modern Gaelic philology should be awarded to the German scholar Zeuss, whose *Grammatica Celtica*, composed out of ancient Irish manuscripts that lay unappreciated in German, Swiss, and Italian libraries, restored a very ancient form of Gaelic, and first inaugurated the scientific study of the language. Diefenberg, Holder-Egger, Unger at Göttingen, Zimmer at Berlin, Windisch at Leipzig, and Kuno Meyer at Liverpool, have done much for the increase of the vocabulary, for the collection of texts, their scholarly interpretation, and the formation of capable disciples who will carry on the enterprises of their masters.

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Aryan home in the Orient to seek his fortunes in the West, and that the literature and the soil of all Western nations, from the plains of Hungary to the Isles of Arran, have preserved traces of his pre-historic journeyings.

Ireland herself has done much for this renaissance of the Gaelic tongue. I have already mentioned O'Donovan and O'Curry. It would be unfair to pass over in silence the scholars of the Neo-Gaelic movement, Fathers Hogan and Murphy, S. J., Bartholomew McCarthy, William Hennessey, Douglas Hyde, Standish O'Grady, Father O'Growney, and others who have toiled, amid many difficulties, to prevent the tongue of their fathers from going the way of oblivion.

When I reflect on the matter, I cease to wonder that there is so strong a movement for the preservation of the Gaelic tongue and literature. Perhaps if it were certain to remain a spoken tongue, or even had a sure asylum in Irish universities and schools, we in the United States might take a less active interest in it. But there is real danger of its total disappearance from public use, and its friends are comparatively few and uninfluential in the schools of the European world. We feel proud, therefore, that we can open our doors to the teaching of the tongue of a most generous, warm-hearted, and loyal people.

Indeed, why should not a Catholic university be glad to welcome such a branch of learning, even if it had never recommended itself to other schools and other savants? The Catholic Church has a profound interest in the preservation of this noble tongue,—the deathless interest of gratitude. I quote from the words of a writer on this subject: "Her bishops, priests, and monks nurtured and fashioned the Gaelic tongue, and made it the richest and greatest of the European vernaculars. Millions of our forefathers went to their last rest with its pious accents on their lips. For nearly fourteen hundred years its sweet consoling tones were heard in the confessional, and its grave sublime poetry was chanted from ten thousand altars. It echoed along the roads of Europe and in her impenetrable forests from the mouths of a thousand missionaries, and it mingled its lyric strength with the majestic Latin at the Tombs of the Apostles, long before any modern nation of Europe had emerged from barbarism.

"It has been a mighty channel of sacerdotal labors for fourteen centuries. It was the tongue of Patrick, Bridget, and Columba. It has been sanctified by long use in the mouths of the most learned doctors. It is saturated, in its structure and in its monuments, with the purest and most spiritual Catholicism, and for these reasons alone deserves a place in any institution destined to be the mouthpiece of the Catholic Church in America."

Gentlemen of the Ancient Order of Hibernians! you have honored yourselves and your association by co-operating in the establishment of the Catholic University of America. It is the express wish of our Holy Father, Leo XIII., that all the faithful should give of their means for the work of this highest institution of learning which the Catholic Church possesses in our country. And this example of your loyalty will surely be known to him and duly appreciated.

You have honored yourselves in a special manner by contributing to the cause of human learning, and it is an enhancement of your merit that you chose a department of learning the most abandoned perhaps in the scientific

world of to-day, and one which will never bring to you or your children a particle of material benefit. John Blackie, the great Greek scholar of Edinburgh, was prouder all his life of having established a Chair of Gaelic in his own university than of all the honor that came to him from his work as an Hellenic scholar of the first rank. And you, too, though you have several praiseworthy objects as an association, will be always able to rank among the most unselfish, and therefore, perhaps, the most far-reaching of your enterprises, the foundation of this Chair of the Gaelic Language and Literature, which I hereby accept in the name of the trustees of the University, and for which I tender you their sincere thanks, with the assurance that it will always be kept up in the most efficient manner.

After the exercises the delegates were entertained at Caldwell Hall. Dr. Shahan, who has taken a lively interest in this Chair, addressed them. Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, the acting rector, thanked them also in very appropriate terms, and pointed out the varied benefits that would come from this foundation.

In the evening the delegates were given a reception at Carroll Institute by the local organizations of the Ancient Order, and upon its conclusion a banquet was served, at which some fifty guests sat down. The next day the delegates were taken to see the points of interest in and about Washington, and in the evening an informal reception and lunch were tendered them at the residence of Thomas E. Waggaman, Esq., the Treasurer of the University. They departed October 23 for their homes, having left lasting impressions on the minds and hearts of all who met them, as of men stalwart in faith and patriotism, high-minded and warmly devoted to the most elevated interests of Holy Church in the United States.

RIGHT REV. JOHN JOSEPH KEANE, D. D.

The seventh annual opening of the schools of the Catholic University of America witnessed the saddest scene that it has been the duty of its chronicler to record,—the laying down of his duties of office by its first rector, Right Rev. John Joseph Keane, D. D., Bishop of Ajasso. On September 28th, the Rector received, through the Chancellor, Cardinal Gibbons, a letter from Our Holy Father, Leo XIII., of which the following is a literal translation :

To our Venerable Brother, John Joseph Keane, Bishop of Ajasso:

Venerable Brother, Health and Apostolic Benediction: It is customary that they who are appointed to preside over Catholic universities should not hold the office in perpetuity. This custom has grown up through wise reasons, and the Roman pontiffs have ever been careful that it should be adhered to. Since, therefore, Venerable Brother, you have now presided for several years over the University at Washington, in the first establishment and subsequent development of which you have shown laudable zeal and diligence, it has seemed best that the above-mentioned custom should not be departed from, and that another, whose name is to be proposed to us by the Bishops, should be appointed to succeed you in this honorable position. In order, however, that in your resigning this office, due regard may be had to your person and your dignity, we have determined to elevate you to the rank of Archbishop.

Being solicitous for your future welfare we leave it to your own free choice either to remain in your own country, or, if you prefer it, to come to Rome. If you choose the former, we will destine for you some archiepiscopal see, by vote of the Bishops of the United States. If you prefer the latter we shall welcome you most lovingly, and will place you among the Consultors of the Congregation of Studies and the Congregation of the Propaganda, in both of which you could do much for the interest of religion in the United States. In this case we would also assign you a suitable revenue for your honorable maintenance.

Confidently trusting, Venerable Brother, that you will accept this, our administrative act, with hearty good will, we most lovingly bestow upon you the apostolic benediction, as a pledge of our paternal affection.

Given at Rome, from St. Peter's, this 15th day of September, 1896, in the nineteenth year of our pontificate.

LEO XIII., Pope.

The next day, September 29, the Rector wrote to the Holy Father his letter of resignation. We append the text:

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 29, 1896.

Most Holy Father: His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, yesterday handed me the letter in which your Holiness has made known to me that my administration of this University now comes to an end, and that another rector is to be appointed.

Without a moment of hesitation I accept the will of your Holiness in the matter as a manifestation of the providence of God, and from this instant I resign into the hands of His Eminence, the Chancellor, the office of Rector, with all the rights thereto attaching.

Thanking your Holiness for the freedom of choice granted me, I choose to remain in my own country, and, moreover, without any official position whatsoever, in tranquillity and peace. Your Holiness' most humble son in Christ.

JOHN J. KEANE,
Bishop of Ajasso.

Knowing by experience that on such an occasion there is great danger of misrepresentation of facts and motives, Bishop Keane made public at once the following statement:

I welcome my release from the office of Rector of the University with profound gratitude, both to Divine Providence and to the Pope. While I always regarded its duties as a labor of love, they had grown to be far beyond my strength and abilities, and the deliverance from the burden is a response to many prayers. I was too loyal a soldier to ask to be relieved from my post, no matter what its difficulties; but feeling that my nine years of strain and solicitude in the work had brought me close to the end of my brain and nerve powers, I was fully ready to welcome what has been done. I shall now enjoy some months of greatly-needed rest on the Pacific Coast, leaving all plans for the future to a later date.

Of course no one needs to be assured that the action of the Holy Father is prompted not only by personal kindness toward myself, but also by earnest solicitude for the best interests of the University. He believes in "rotation in office," as all sensible men must. He knows the evils of allowing any official, and especially the head of a university, to fossilize at his post, and in this must all acknowledge his wisdom. His enlightened prudence, and that of the trustees who have to present the nominations, will be sure to select a Rector in every way fitted to guide the work to fuller and fuller success. From the peaceful retirement which I trust I have somewhat earned, I shall ever watch its progress with unabated interest. And I appeal to all whom my efforts in behalf of the University have ever reached, to redouble their interest, their zeal, their generosity in this new chapter of the University's existence, and to make it what it by right must be, the crowning glory of Christian education in America.

On October 4th the professors of the three faculties constituting the University,—Theology, Philosophy, and the Social Sciences,—gathered in the Chapel of Divinity Hall for the purpose of assisting at the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and taking the usual oath of office. Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, acting rector, said the Mass, and Very Rev. Dr. Grannan, Dean of the Faculty of Theology, read the oath of office, which was subscribed to by the professors. When this had been finished, Bishop Keane arose and addressed the assembly. His voice was without a tremor, and though deeply affected, he was cheerful and at times he smiled.

"I had a secret to tell you this morning," he said. "It is a secret no longer." He then bade a touching farewell to the faculties. He spoke of his intimate connection with them, the personal relationship existing, and his solicitude for the University. He expressed the wish that no one should slacken his zeal for the welfare of the University on account of his departure, and hoped that harmony would always exist among the professors. Wherever he went he would always be devoted to the institution, and it should always have his prayers and assistance.

In concluding the Bishop said they need have no fear of the future of the University. It was in the hands of the Vice-Rector, Dr. Garrigan, who had often been in charge "while I was on a 'begging' expedition." In the course of time his successor would be appointed, and he earnestly hoped they would render to him the same services they had to himself.

Cardinal Gibbons, as chancellor of the University, and representing the directors and the hierarchy of America, then arose and spoke with more feeling than he had displayed for years:

He said that he must express his admiration for the tone of Bishop Keane's discourse. "It is one of the most noble documents," said he, "that I have ever read."

The Cardinal went on to say that he was a man not easily moved, but he confessed that on this occasion he was profoundly touched. It was with surprise and sorrow that he learned of the resignation of the Rector, and at the same time he could not but admire the calmness and joy which shone in the face of Bishop Keane when he learned of the decision of the Holy See. "I always admired him and respected him before," said the Cardinal, "but his conduct on this occasion edified me most highly, and made me love him more than ever."

It was not the first evidence of the Bishop's self-denial that the Cardinal had seen. When it was a question some years ago of dividing the vicariate of

country, by marvelous dispensation of Divine Providence, is the English tongue. As loyal and affectionate sons of this mighty Commonwealth, the members of the Order cling not only to the fundamental compacts of the Nation and the States, to the common institutions and also to the spirit of this country, but likewise to its national tongue and literature. They believe, however, that this does not exclude a pious respect for the history and the civilization of the past among the Gael; for the *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*; for their ancestry of scholars, teachers, missionaries, saints, and martyrs. They believe that the Gaelic can be taught, even as Latin and Greek are taught, for academical uses, and they know that it has a most honored place beside the Sanscrit in the esteem of all modern philologists.

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The Cardinal went on to say that he was a man not easily moved, but he confessed that on this occasion he was profoundly touched. It was with surprise and sorrow that he learned of the resignation of the Rector, and at the same time he could not but admire the calmness and joy which shone in the face of Bishop Keane when he learned of the decision of the Holy See. "I always admired him and respected him before," said the Cardinal, "but his conduct on this occasion edified me most highly, and made me love him more than ever."

It was not the first evidence of the Bishop's self-denial that the Cardinal had seen. When it was a question some years ago of dividing the vicariate of

North Carolina from the bishopric of Richmond, to which it had formerly been attached, there was some difficulty because of the poverty of the vicariate, Bishop Keane at once offered to give up the diocese of Richmond, though well organized and prosperous, to take up the hard burden of the vicariate. The other bishops would not consent, but the action revealed the spirit of self-denial which characterized Bishop Keane. On another occasion they were at Rome together, working at the foundation of the University. The preliminary labor was well accomplished when it occurred to the Cardinal that it might be better to put off for some years the opening of the undertaking, on account of the many objections made. He mentioned it to Bishop Keane, not without some misgivings, for he knew how dear the project was to the latter's heart. Yet almost immediately, without a quiver of the lip or the slightest sign of disappointment, the Bishop agreed with the sentiment of the Cardinal. "Only," he added, "this has been willed by higher authority, that of the Holy Father, whose judgment I must naturally accept."

"We read much about obedience and submission," continued the Cardinal. "They are things easier to preach than to practice. This one example is better than a hundred books on the same subject. I always admired his marvelous activity, preaching in halls and churches, here to day and to-morrow on the Pacific coast, utterly unsparing of himself, and losing himself completely in his labors for the University. Oftentimes I was afraid that he would eventually break down."

The Cardinal exhorted all the professors to work unitedly and perseveringly for the growth of the University, and to pray that God would inspire the Bishops to choose the right man for this important place.

"You may have many rectors, whose names will be brilliant in the annals of the University, but never will you have one more notable for zeal, devotion, and, above all, for absolute disinterestedness and self-denial than John Joseph Keane."

The Vice-Rector, Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, on whom, by the constitution, devolves the management of the University during the interim, and the professors of all the faculties thereupon repaired to the parlors of Divinity Hall, where the following resolutions were drawn up and formally presented by a committee consisting of the Deans of the three Faculties of Theology, Philosophy, and the Social Sciences:

WHEREAS in its wise administration of the affairs of the Universal Church the Holy See has seen fit to set a term to the office of Rt. Rev. John Joseph Keane, D. D., as Rector of the Catholic University of America; and

WHEREAS the Right Reverend Bishop is about to depart for a period of rest on the Pacific coast;

Resolved, That the professors and instructors of the University, in meeting assembled, do hereby express their deep and sincere regret at parting with one who has for so many years been to them, not only a fatherly guide, but a source of inspiration and encouragement. They hereby bear witness to the cordial personal relations which have always existed between them and Bishop Keane as the head of the teaching body and the chief members of the admin-

istration of the University. They look back with pride and satisfaction upon the great work he has accomplished in the material upbuilding of its schools, the organization of studies, and the spread of a lively interest in the idea and the work of the University. They recall with gratitude his many journeys, the number of his successful personal appeals for the means of development, and the devotion which his eloquence everywhere aroused for the cause of higher education.

Remembering all this they come together on the eve of his departure to offer him the assurance of their unalterable affection, of their prayers for his welfare, and of their determination to work unitedly and perseveringly for the great object to which he has consecrated so large a portion of his life.

The same day Bishop Keane departed for the Pacific coast, where he will be the guest of Archbishop Riordan, of San Francisco, and later of Judge Myles O'Connor, of San José, California, a notable benefactor of the University, and founder of the Chair of Canon Law.

Bishop Keane lived so many years in Washington, as curate in St. Patrick's Church, had been so identified with the population of the city in all that pertained to its interests, spiritual or temporal, and especially since his return as Rector of the Catholic University of America, that the citizens of the National Capital could not see him depart without sending after him some expression of their sorrow and their admiration. Therefore, on October 8 there was held a mass meeting in the hall of the Carroll Institute, which was crowded to the doors. The heads of all the universities of Washington were present, representatives of the local and national governments, generals of the army, and men prominent in society and business. The Hon. Justice Morris, of the District Court of Appeals, acted as president of the meeting. On the platform were Rev. J. Havens Richards, S. J., President of Georgetown University. With him were Rev. Dr. B. L. Whitman, President of Columbian University; Rev. Dr. J. E. Rankin, President of Howard University; Dr. Edward M. Gallaudet, President of Kendall Green; Captain Frank H. Harrington, United States Marine Corps, Commandant of the Marine Barracks; Brother Fabrician, President St. John's College; Rev. Fathers Gloyd, Stafford, and McGee, of St. Patrick's Parish; Hon. D. I. Murphy, Commissioner of Pensions; Rev. Father Shandelle, S. J., of Georgetown University; Gen. Batcheller and Gen. Vincent; Gen. A. W. Greely, of the Signal Service; District Commissioner Truesdell, representing the Dis-

strict government; Hon. Tallmadge A. Lambert, and H. C. Stier. Among those throughout the hall were Fathers Conway and Dolan, S. J., of St. Aloysius'; Fathers Mackin and Foley, of St. Paul's; Judge James F. Fullerton, Rev. Mr. Snyder, Mr. Henry Sohon, Fathers Bartlett and Mackel, of Baltimore; Major E. Mallet, Father O'Connell, S. J., and Messrs. George M. Hill, E. J. Hannan, N. T. Taylor, J. F. Shea, B. F. Coyle, W. A. Gordon, W. H. De Lacey, Thomas W. Smith, W. B. Johnston, J. A. Burkart, T. J. Sullivan, John H. Magruder, George J. May, Dr. Wilkerson, James R. Gilmour, Gregory G. Ennis, Col. William Dickson, and many other notable citizens.

Discourses were made by the honorable president, by Rev. J. Havens Richards, S. J., President of Georgetown University, and by Dr. Rankin, President of Howard University, and a committee on resolutions appointed. The following resolutions were reported and read by Rev. Father McGee, of St. Patrick's Church.

Whereas the term of office of Right Reverend John J. Keane, D. D., as Rector of the Catholic University of America has been brought to a close ; and

Whereas the Right Reverend Bishop has taken his departure from Washington, and it is understood that he may possibly cease to reside here in the future ; therefore

Resolved, That we, citizens of Washington, assembled here irrespective of creed, do gladly embrace this opportunity of giving public expression to the warm sentiments of esteem and regard which we entertain toward Bishop Keane, our distinguished fellow-citizen, that we take this occasion to express our appreciation of the valuable service he has rendered to the great cause of education and intellectual culture among us ; that we honor the lofty spirit of patriotism which ever animated him in his public life and the spirit of Christian charity which ever prompted him to take a foremost part in every undertaking designed to serve and benefit humanity ; that we gratefully bear testimony to the kindly spirit, the rectitude of life, the dignity of bearing which bespoke him in all the relations of life, an ideal Christian gentleman ; and

Resolved, That we learn with profound regret of the termination of his official connection with the great institution of learning with which he was so closely identified, of which we considered him the very life, as he was in truth one of its creators ; that we shall deeply deplore any decision which may involve his giving up his residence among us, and that whatever his decision may be, we pledge to him our warmest sentiments of friendship and good will.

Resolved further, That copies of these resolutions be presented to Right Reverend Bishop Keane, to His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, and to Very Reverend Philip J. Garrigan, Vice-Rector of the Catholic University of America.

When the resolutions had been adopted, Hon. Justice Morris introduced Rev. B. L. Whitman, D. D., President of Columbian University, who spoke as follows:

The attainments of Bishop Keane are many sided. The character of the evening's programme indicates the many lines of influence along which he impressed himself upon the community. No one who has the privilege of his acquaintance could fail to mark the charm of his personality. The type of his manhood is of the highest. His ready sympathy, his open hand, his unwearying patience, his boundless toil, make him a man to be loved and trusted. As a religious leader multitudes have followed him to their profit, and find faith strengthened and practical righteousness increased. In no capacity, however, has he so markedly impressed himself upon the public as in that of an educator. I speak not of classroom work, but of the kind of educational generalship that planned and developed the beginnings of a great institution. Bishop Keane was forward with the choice spirits who conceived the importance of crowning the system of Catholic educational institutions of the country with a university which should at once complete the system and realize the ideal of its most advanced methods.

Bishop Keane was quick to discern the signs of the times. He saw the need of meeting the questions with which the age has challenged fate, and in which expression has been found for a sense of growth and accompanying uncertainty in the soul of men. The progress of recent decades has been a progress preëminently in intellectual directions. The emphasis has been shifted from spiritual to material themes. This does not necessarily mean that men are less devout or less anxious to do the will of God. It means growing recognition of the fact that the world is with us, and by virtue of the fact that we are rational beings, we are compelled to seek for the solution of those problems. None who heard it can have failed to be thrilled by the noble utterance that gave the keynote to the opening of the more recent phases of the work at the Catholic University of America. According to that thought the advance ground was taken that while faith should not be called upon to vouch for the conclusions of science it would not, on the other hand, limit investigation or refuse to canvass truth disclosed by investigation. Here is a glimpse of the truest fruit of modern educational advance, a recognition of the fact that the realm of truth has not been exhausted, that we are not debarred from entering it, and that when disclosures are made of truth not hitherto possessed, we had to rate it at its proper worth.

In his character as priest and bishop, in his recognition of the right of truth to a hearing wherever found, in his inspiration of men who taught and wrought with him, in his insistence upon high ideals in student endeavor, Bishop Keane has given fresh emphasis of the high compulsions of faith and knowledge which have made the office of educator for him as for so many an office of power and an opportunity for furthering the Kingdom of God. (Applause.)

The meeting was brought to an end by a tribute from Rev. Dr. Stafford, of St. Patrick's Church. We quote in part from his discourse:

I rise to pay tribute to a man. The greatest of all things is to be a man; nothing can add to it, nothing can take from it. Prosperity cannot increase it, adversity cannot lessen it. Glory cannot glorify it, nor can obscurity obscure it. Wealth cannot enlarge it, nor poverty belittle it. Station cannot augment it, nor misfortune decrease it. To all accidental things the greatness of a man is superior. For whoso is a man carries within himself his essential greatness, and in the rectitude of his motives and in the approbation of his own consciousness has all that makes one great before God or men.

Such a man is he whose official residence in this city has been terminated, and it is fitting and proper that upon this occasion we should meet together and express our sorrow at his departure, and our deep sense of appreciation of his work. With this alone are we concerned.

During his long and distinguished residence here he stood before Catholics and he stood before Protestants; he stood before Jews and he stood before Gentiles; he stood before Gnostics and he stood before Agnostics; he stood before believers and he stood before unbelievers, and the Protestant and the Catholic, the Jew and the Gentile, the Gnostic and the Agnostic, the believer and the unbeliever, and all the world rose up and proclaimed him a man. He beat down the walls of hatred, he leveled mountains of prejudice, he brought us all nearer together, and, with Cardinal Gibbons, he has done as much to make the American republic loved at home and respected abroad as any living American, and with the same distinguished companion, he has done more than any living Catholic to make the Catholic Church respected by the non-Catholic American.

At the call of authority he set to work. It belongs to the intensity of his character as a man to give himself absolutely to his work. All his great mind, all his generous heart, all his magnanimous soul, his boundless energy, his buoyant enthusiasm, he put into it. He asked no compensation, and he took none. When he went into the work he had nothing, and when he came out of it he was without a dollar.

He has the unequal distinction of having carried to successful issue, mainly and chiefly, and almost solely by his own energy and devotion and ability, the most important and most difficult work of a century, and whoever may come after him, and however the work may grow (and I pray that it may till it realizes his own most glorious conception), the Catholic University of America remains forever that monument to the boundless zeal, the magnificent ability, the burning charity, the self-forgetfulness, the self-annihilation, the self-crucifixion of the man—John Joseph Keane.

It would be ungrateful in a high degree if, in the pages of this organ, no words were said of the retiring Rector,—the man who helped so largely to found the Catholic University of America, and who threw himself with characteristic unselfishness into every movement and plan for its progress and welfare. His name stands throughout the United States as a synonym for good citizenship, the civic virtues, loyalty to the civil authority,

love of fatherland, and devotion to the ideal Americanism. His voice has been heard in all parts of the Union proclaiming that the Catholic Church is in fullest sympathy with our institutions and that from the Catholics of the land no one need fear any treason, nor the invocation of any foreign influence or interference.

As a priest and a bishop his personal virtues, his numerous and prominent converts to Catholicism, his labors in the cause of temperance, his almost excessive generosity, and his affable manners, made him the idol of the communities in which he lived, and have bound to him in every State of the Union hundreds of men, prominent in all the walks of life, who are better for having known him, or for the influence of his written or spoken word. His share of human defects he no doubt possesses, but of these, as of the reasons for his departure, it is not our business to speak. We are concerned only with the man into whose hands the infant University was confided, and who has nursed the tender charge until it has reached its present viable condition.

The seventy acres of land on which the University will grow were purchased under Bishop Keane, and the three stately buildings that grace the site were erected under his administration. A very great share of the moneys gathered for the Chairs, and all the incidental donations that helped to keep alive the good work, were given through his personal influence. In the interests of the University he has traveled over the whole land, has risked his life in a great railroad disaster, and visited Europe several times. The professorial corps is the work of his vigils and forethought, and the entire public organism of the University is owing to him. He has had able assistants, but the chief honor is rightly due to Bishop Keane.

In dealing with the professors and instructors he has ever been a courteous and refined gentleman; in his relations with the students a fatherly and experienced guide, an inspiring and elevating influence. The unction of his speech was noticeable in his manner, and no youth ever came in contact with this Catholic bishop without bearing away a spark of idealism, a love of virtue, and a horror of sin and meanness.

He found the University a hope; some said a velleity. He left it a fact. He found the corner-stone in the great Caldwell

gift. He left a plant worth one million dollars, and an interest-bearing fund of some eight hundred thousand dollars. He found a Catholic community largely ignorant of the need or even of the idea of a University. He left ardent and intelligent friends of the work in every diocese—nay, in every city and town of the United States. It is said that in ancient times an innocent virgin was often walled up alive in the foundations of great buildings, that the sacrifice might make them eternal. The life of John Joseph Keane has been the cement of the Catholic University of America, and though it may have in the future distinguished names on the list of its administrators, there will be none, to use the words of our Eminent Chancellor, "more notable for zeal, devotion, and, above all, for absolute disinterestedness and self-denial than John Joseph Keane."

The best wishes of professors and students and friends follow him through life, and augur for him an abundance of spiritual peace, and a life of unbroken tranquillity of soul, in whatever station an all-reconciling Providence may assign him.

"Thou art not gone being gone, where'er thou art,
Thou leav'st in us thy watchful eyes, in us thy loving heart."



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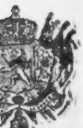
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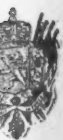
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